

PAPERS  
OF THE  
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME



VOL VIII. No. 3

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THE PALAZZO ODESCALCHI IN ROME.

By THOMAS ASHBY, D.LITT., F.S.A.

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THE PALAZZO ODESCALCHI IN ROME.

BY THOMAS ASHBY, D.LITT., F.S.A.

THE Palazzo Odescalchi, a portion of which has served as the residence of the British School for a period of some fourteen years, is among the more remarkable of the palaces of Rome, both for its architectural qualities and its historical associations. Situated as it is in the centre of the city, close to the Piazza Venezia, on the west side of the spacious Piazza dei SS. Apostoli, and opposite the famous basilica which gives its name to the square, it is yet a little removed from any of the main lines of traffic, which pass close by it without actually touching it, and has thus preserved much of that quiet and stately beauty which must inevitably be in some measure sacrificed in the rush and bustle of modern life.

It has seemed to me that it would be a pity that the School should sever its connection with this splendid building without some attempt being made to give a short historical account of it, and I have therefore put together the material that I have been able to collect. My sincere acknowledgments are due to Prince Odescalchi, to Don Fabrizio Colonna, Prince of Paliano, and to Prince Chigi for their kind permission to examine the archives of their respective families, in which, however, there are unfortunately a number of *lacunae*. The greater proportion of the documents relating to the palace in the Odescalchi archives appears to have been destroyed in the fire of 1885; while the Colonna archives

do not contain as much information as might have been hoped in regard to the earlier history of the building.

The site in classical times formed a part of that of the barracks of the first cohort of the *vigiles*<sup>1</sup>, which was also, no doubt, the headquarters of the whole fire brigade of the city, being a building with three large courtyards, which are shown in the Marble Plan of Septimius Severus. At a subsequent period there seem to have been considerable alterations made in its plan. On the west of it ran the Via Lata, still represented by the modern Corso, and on the south the paving of an ancient road has been found 4.50 m. below the modern Vicolo del Piombo, the narrow street between the Palazzo Odescalchi and the Palazzo Ruffo, running at right angles from the Corso as far as the Piazza SS. Apostoli.

On the north of the block is another narrow street, the Via dei SS. Apostoli, which is not of ancient origin.

In the northwest corner of the block Lanciani marks a pavement of travertine or marble as found in the ' Scavi Borruso ' of 1884, and close by, opposite the church of S. Maria in Via Lata, the Via Lata itself was spanned by the Arcus Novus of Diocletian,<sup>2</sup> which was destroyed under Innocent VIII.

The mediaeval topography of the block is dealt with by Corvisieri.<sup>3</sup> It was occupied by small houses, those which stood on the site of the palace<sup>4</sup> having been bought from Nicolò Sinibaldi of Villa S. Antimo and from Pietro, the son of Francesco, by one Dionigi di Giovanni, of Vimercate; he sold them in 1365 to Giovanni di Filippo Visconti of Oleggio, whose chancellor and secretary he had been, and who died in the following year. Visconti's widow, Antonia Benzona, of Crema, subsequently

<sup>1</sup> Hülsen, *Topographie*, i. 3, 461; Lanciani, *Mon. Lincei*, i. (1891), 471; *Forma Urbis* f. 15, 16, 21, 22.

<sup>2</sup> Hülsen, *Topographie*, i. 3, 469.

The last remains of the arch disappeared in 1523 (Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, i. 217). One of the reliefs found on that occasion is perhaps still preserved in the Villa Medici (to the references given by Hülsen add *C.I.L.* vi. 31,383, and Stuart Jones in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, iii. 271).

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Soc. Rom. Stor. Patr.* x. (1887), 631 *sqq.* and note 4, where he quotes a number of documents from the archives of S. Carlo al Corso.

<sup>4</sup> The boundaries of the property in 1366 and 1408 are compared in a document published by Lanciani (*A.S.R.S.P.* xx. (1897), 379). The houses of the Mancini dei Lucci probably did not extend beyond the area of the Palazzo Ruffo, inasmuch as the small street to the west of it, running southward from the Vicolo del Piombo, still bears the name of Vicolo Mancini.

founded a hospital for poor Lombard women in these houses,<sup>1</sup> which continued to exist, at first under the government of Franciscan and then of Dominican Tertiaries, until 1485,<sup>2</sup> when it passed to a larger Lombard institution, which had been founded in 1471, under the title of S. Ambrogio, near the church of S. Niccolo di Toffo or de Tufis, the predecessor of SS. Ambrogio e Carlo al Corso, for which it made way in 1612.<sup>3</sup> The houses now became part of the capital of the new hospital, and were

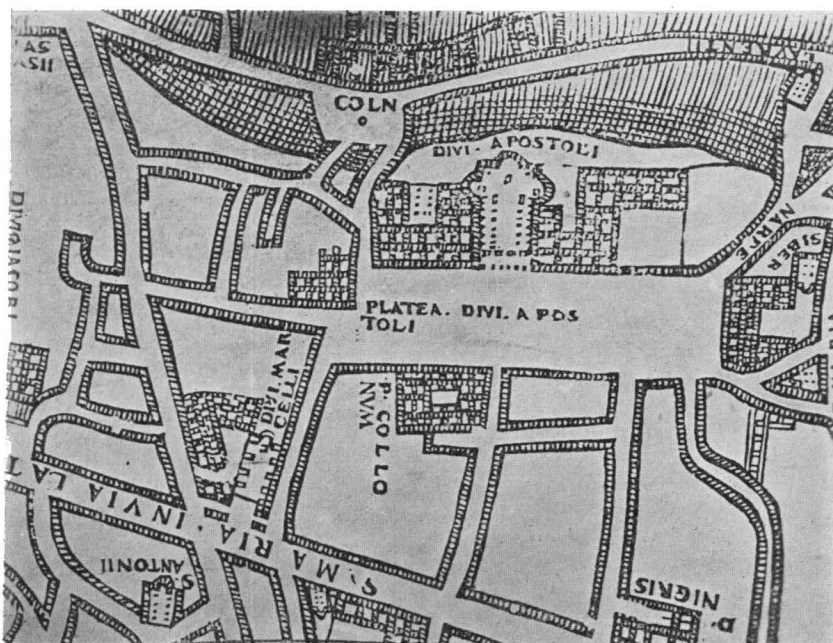


FIG. 1.—THE PIAZZA SS. APOSTOLI IN THE PLAN OF BUFALINI (1551).

let in emphyteusis to various tenants, among them the Colonna family, who had a palace there. We can obtain some idea of the appearance of this building from the contemporary plans and bird's-eye views of

<sup>1</sup> The foundation was ratified by a notarial document given at Crema on September 22, 1388. Her death was followed by considerable litigation, which did not end until 1446.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot fix the site of the *Una domus posita e conspectu SS. Apostolorum* given to the hospital of the Sancta Sanctorum at the Lateran by Lipa, widow of Ceccho di Antonio di Giovanni di Giuliano on May 27, 1452 (Archives of the Sancta Sanctorum, notary Thomas Bartolommei Serentii de Leis, f. 130 of the book of instruments). The document is cited by Jacovacci, *Cod. Ottob.* 2553, S. f. 943. I have not seen the original.

<sup>3</sup> Armellini, *Chiese di Roma*, 337.



Rome, which are such a valuable source of information for its topography and appearance.

Bufalini's plan of 1551 shows that there had been a palace of the Colonna family (*P. Collonum*) existing at least since that date in the southeast portion of the block, with a garden adjoining it on the north-



FIG. 2.—THE PIAZZA SS. APOSTOLI IN THE BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF ÉTIENNE DU PÉRAC (1577).

east, the streets being arranged as at present (Fig. 1). The panorama of Pinardo (1555)<sup>1</sup> shows a tower at the southeast corner, but the houses and streets are conventionally rendered; and the first source of real information is the fine bird's-eye view of Étienne Du Pérac (1577), in which the palace is shown as a building with the main door opening from the

<sup>1</sup> Rocchi, *Piante di Roma*, Plate iv. Quaritch, No. 5 (see *Bernard Quaritch's Rough List*, No. 138); Hülsen in *A.S.R.S.P.* xxxviii. (1915), p. 45, No. 17.

*Platea SS. Apostolorum* into a courtyard; on the right of it are three small houses, and behind them a garden (conventionally shown as having only two trees in it) surrounded by a wall. Behind it are other small houses and gardens (Fig. 2).<sup>1</sup>

Mario Cartaro, in his large view of modern Rome, gives a representation which is similar, but slightly less accurate in details;<sup>2</sup> and the same may be said of Greuter (1618).<sup>3</sup> Cardinal Marcantonio Colonna (cardinal 1565-97) who appears as the owner of the palace as early as 1568<sup>4</sup> seems to have rebuilt it before his death, though the exact date at which he did so is not known. On August 10, 1588, he received a donation by letters patent of three *oncie* of the Acqua Felice, the new aqueduct which Pope Sixtus V. completed in that very year.<sup>5</sup>

The building represented in the woodcut of Franzini<sup>6</sup> and in the bird's-eye views of Tempesta (1597, Fig. 3)<sup>7</sup> and Maupin (1625 *c.*, Fig. 4),<sup>8</sup> is quite different from the previous one; it is placed in the centre of the block, with a loggia<sup>9</sup> over the entrance, and having the west side of the courtyard opening on to the garden, while on the east side there

<sup>1</sup> Ehrle, *La Pianta di Roma Du Pérac-Lafréry del 1577*; Hülsen, Nos. 73-75; Ashby, *Topographical Study in Rome in 1581*, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Rocchi, *op. cit.* tav. xvi.; Hülsen, No. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Hülsen, Nos. 102-104.

<sup>4</sup> Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, iv. 7, cites, from Arch. Vat. *Diversorum*, tom. 232, c. 184a, *licentia effodiendi d. Marcantonio card. Columnae in platea sanctorum apostolorum et prope palatium suum*, granted on July 6, 1568.

There is a document in the Archivio Colonna (III. A. A. 202) which records a settlement arrived at on June 2, 1581, between Giulio Cesare Colonna of Galliciano and Clarice Anguilara Colonna, both in her own name, and as guardian of her daughters Giulia, Placidia, and Flaminia, and of Martio Colonna, husband of the first named. In this it is decided that *la Casa di Roma con il Giardino, et le casette contigue, et tutte le loro pertinentie, siano, et spettino di pieno dominio al detto Sig. Giulio per scudi sessantamila*. But this cannot refer to the Cardinal's palace.

<sup>5</sup> Arch. Chigi, Roma, Posiz. SS. Apostoli; with it is a renewal of the concession by Alexander VII. on April 11th, 1663.

<sup>6</sup> *Palatia Procerum Romanae Urbis*, 1596, signature F 2, which shows Maderna's late Renaissance façade rather conventionally, with the main door at one side of it.

<sup>7</sup> See Hülsen, Nos. 84-87. The 1664 edition of Tempesta (from which our illustration is taken) has had the legend *Pal(azzo) de Galliciano* added, but the representation of the palace has not been altered.

<sup>8</sup> Ehrle, *La Pianta di Roma Maggi-Maupin-Losi*; Hülsen, p. 25 (where he points out that it is copied from Tempesta's view) and No. 106.

The views of De Veen (1593; Hülsen, No. 83), and Maggi-De Schaichis (1603; Hülsen, No. 98) show the block entirely occupied by small houses.

<sup>9</sup> It is a small square structure, open on all sides, used as a kind of summer-house: it is a familiar feature in the late Renaissance palaces of Rome.

is an arcade supported by columns on the ground floor. The south and west sides of the block are occupied by small houses.

In the guide books of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century there are no allusions to the palace, and the attribution of the building to Carlo Maderna is first met with in the legend to Falda's view (Fig. 5).

The palace became the residence of that branch of the Colonna

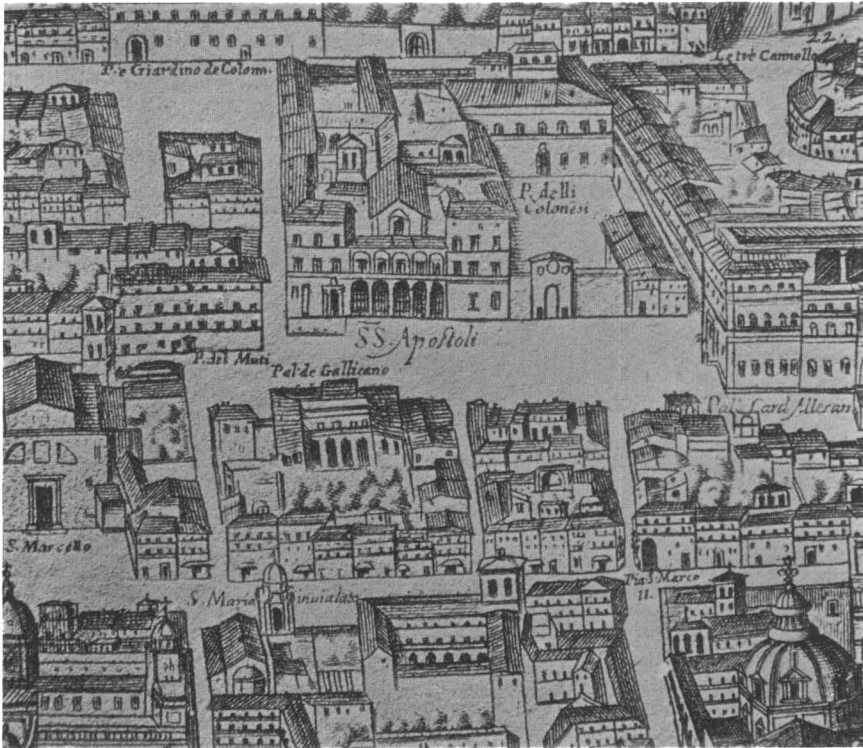


FIG. 3.—THE PIAZZA SS. APOSTOLI IN THE BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF TEMPESTA (1597).

family which took its princely title from the village of Gallicano ; but the extravagance of Marzio Colonna was such that in 1615 it was necessary to lay a charge upon the building ;<sup>1</sup> and on September 28th, 1622, Pierfrancesco Colonna, Duke of Zagarolo, was obliged to sell Zagarolo, Colonna, Gallicano, and Passerano to Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi for

<sup>1</sup> See a brief of Paul V. of June 4th of that year, cited by Tomassetti, *Campagna Romana Antica, Medioevale, e Moderna*, iii. 431.



860,000 scudi, the title of Prince of Gallicano passing to the purchaser after two years. The vendors reserved to themselves all the statues, and such pictures as were not fixed into any of the buildings so as to form integral parts of them.<sup>1</sup> The text of the documents relating to the papal permission<sup>2</sup> for the sale seems to warrant the supposition that the sale of the palace to Cardinal Ludovisi had been previously effected, but had not been sufficient to pay the Duke's debts ; while the

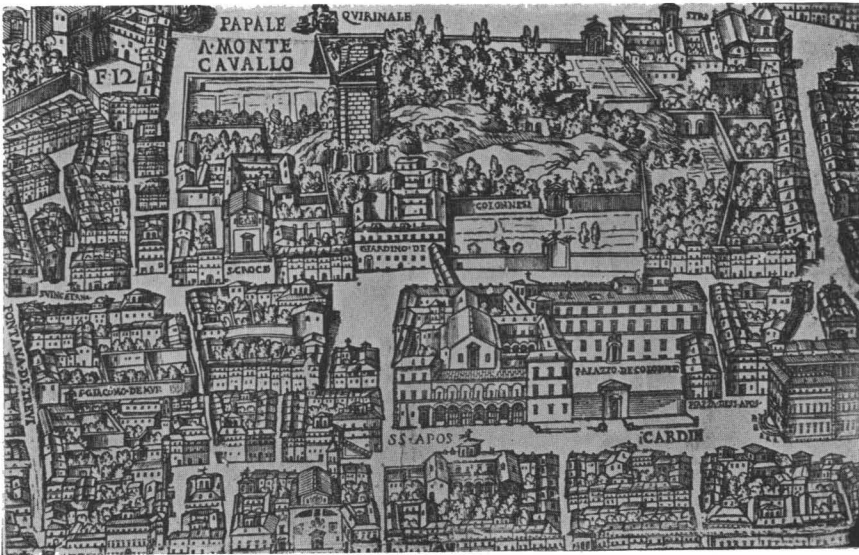


FIG. 4.—THE PIAZZA SS. APOSTOLI IN THE BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF MAUPIN (1625 circa).

deed of sale to the Cardinal mentions the palace only once, but in such a way as though it were included in the sale with the rest.

The remains of the archives of the Boncompagni-Ludovisi family seem, from rough notes which Sig. Francesco Tomassetti has been kind enough to give me, to contain documents which may throw further light on the question<sup>3</sup> ; but owing to the exigencies of military service,

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Col. Perg.* xxviii. 31 (Appendix No. I.) ; cf. Tomassetti, *op. cit.* iii. 418, 431, 509, 520.

<sup>2</sup> *Arch. Col.* ix. 5 (Appendix No. II.).

<sup>3</sup> There is another copy of the deed of sale, with the papal permission ; and there are some earlier documents relating to purchases of houses and land made by members of the Colonna family.

he has been unable to carry his researches further at the present moment. I reserve to myself, therefore, the right to return to the subject under more favourable circumstances.

The supposition we have made is confirmed by the fact that Cardinal Ludovisi was the last tenant in emphyteusis of the houses which belonged to S. Ambrogio, and that he freed them from the annual rent of 15 scudi by a cash payment of 800 scudi to the hospital.<sup>1</sup>

But, if the sale actually took place, it can only have been of a purely temporary nature, and the right of repurchase must have been exercised shortly afterwards. This is clear from the guide books of a few years

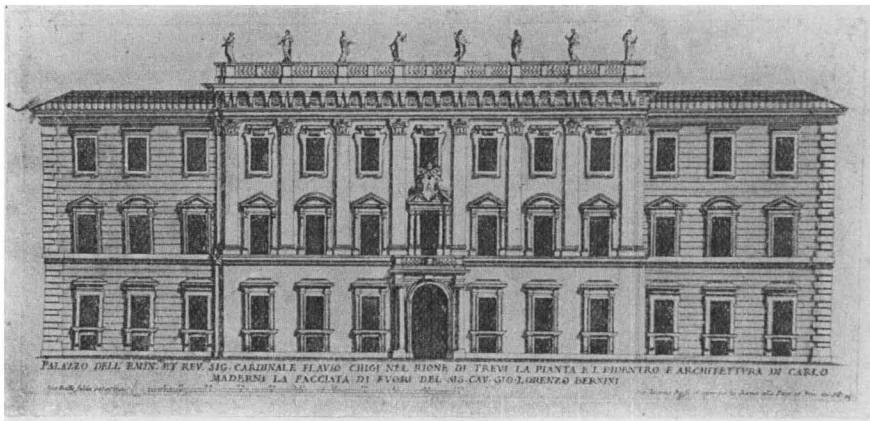


FIG. 5.—THE PALAZZO CHIGI (ODESCALCHI) IN 1665 *circa*.

later, which speak of the 'most noble palace of the Colonna of Gallicano, very well built, and adorned with a fine garden.'<sup>2</sup> I may also note that a document of 1637 in the Ludovisi archives relates to the lease of a palace (probably this one) to Nicolo Ludovisi by Pompeo Colonna.

Nor is there any allusion to the fact that the palace had ever passed out of the possession of the Colonna family in the voluminous documents relating to its sale to Cardinal Flavio Chigi in 1661 (see Appendix No. III.). From these we learn that Pompeo Colonna, Prince of Gallicano

<sup>1</sup> Corvisieri, *loc. cit.* The instrument is dated August 18. Corvisieri does not give the year, but it was apparently 1622 (document in the Ludovisi archives).

<sup>2</sup> This passage is found in the 1638 edition (the earliest known to me) of the *Roma Moderna*, published by Pompilio Totti (p. 286); it is repeated in the editions of 1643 (p. 117) and 1653 (p. 123).

(by virtue of what right he retained the title is not altogether clear) had, in the first days of the year 1661, left (see Appendix No. IV.) the use of the palace for life to Cardinal Flavio Chigi, who was only in his thirty-first year. The Cardinal, however, desired to purchase it, together with a house behind it, which is referred to in the codicil to the will, and which was entered from the Corso. He therefore, through the



FIG. 6.—THE PALAZZO CHIGI (ODESCALCHI) IN 1689.

intermediation of Cardinal Sforza Pallavicini, arranged to buy the palace outright from Stefano Colonna, the heir of Pompeo, for 25,000 scudi, the price being fixed in consideration of the life interest which Flavio Chigi had in the palace. The contract of sale was signed on December 29th, 1661, in the absence of Cardinal Chigi, and ratified by him on January 21, 1662, after his return to Rome.

In 1665 Cardinal Flavio Chigi handed over the completion of the

palace to Lorenzo Bernini.<sup>1</sup> Later in the same year, when Bernini was in France, occupied in the execution of a bust of Louis XIV., the Cardinal wrote that, owing to the trouble that was being taken by Lorenzo's brother Luigi, the façade of the palace was progressing well. It is imitated from the lateral palaces of the Capitol. An idea of its appearance may be gained from various contemporary views—that of Falda (1665) in the *Vedute delle Fabriche, Piazze e Strade fatte fare nuovamente in Roma*, the elevation by Falda in the *Palazzi di Roma*<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 5), that which



FIG. 7. — THE PALAZZO CHIGI (ODESCALCHI) IN 1699.

appears in various editions of the *Roma Moderna* (Fig. 6),<sup>3</sup> and that of Specchi (1699) in the *Primo Libro del Nuovo Teatro dei Palazzi di Roma moderna*, Pl. 26 (Fig. 7).

In these views, and especially the last, we notice that the original

<sup>1</sup> Frascchetti, *Il Bernini*, 297, 351, who cites from the Archivio Chigi two certificates given by Bernini in March of that year to the Cardinal that he might safely pay 200 scudi to a builder and 300 to a stonecutter on account.

<sup>2</sup> The legend to this view states that the plan and the interior are the work of Carlo Maderna, who must therefore have been responsible for the previously existing façade.

<sup>3</sup> P. 288 of the edition of 1689. This is perhaps the first edition in which this and other similar engravings appear.

building was far better proportioned than the present one, and that the wings bore a proper relation to the central portion. In the background on the right we see the courtyard of the palace, upon which that of the



FIG. 8.—THE PIAZZA SS. APOSTOLI AND ITS SURROUNDINGS IN 1676.

present building has undoubtedly been modelled, and in front of it was a garden, round which, in Falda's view, there is a high wall, while in Specchi's there is a lower wall, with a fountain in the piazza bearing the

Chigi arms. In the garden itself Specchi shows us the fountain which is now in the courtyard of the present building, and also indicates a lateral

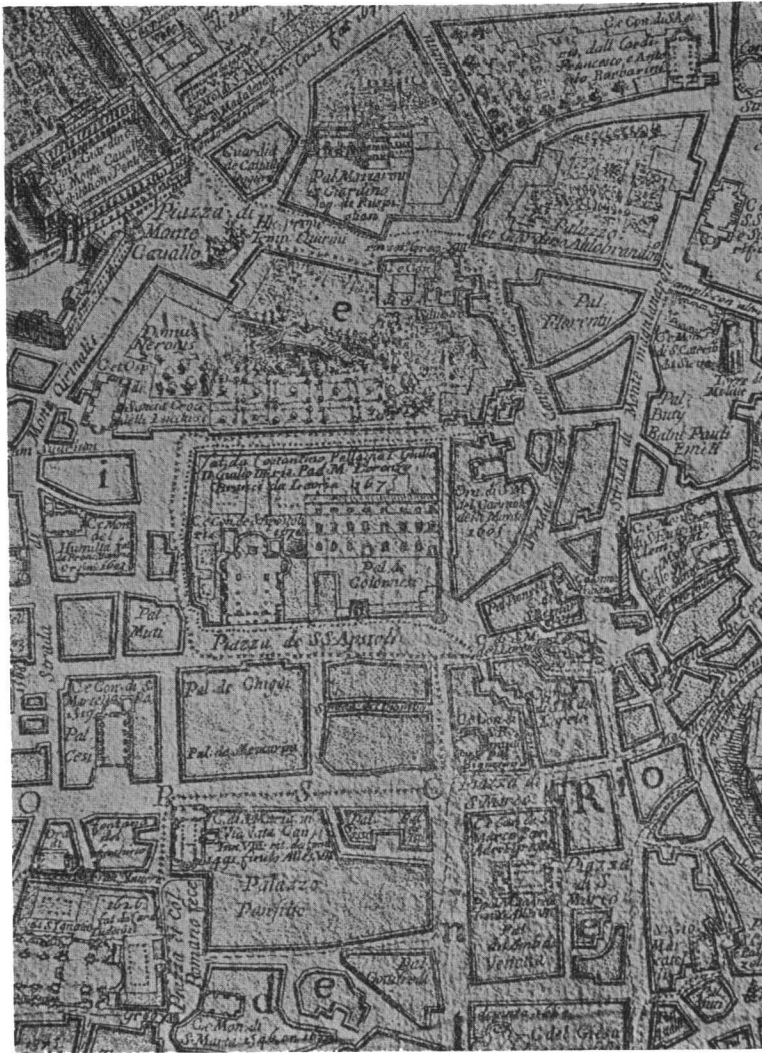


FIG. 9.—THE PIAZZA SS. APOSTOLI AND ITS SURROUNDINGS IN 1680.

staircase leading down to it. In these details he is probably more correct than Falda, whose engraving can hardly have been published

before the completion of the building; and, as a fact, Falda himself, in his bird's-eye view of 1676, omits the loggia which he had indicated at the summit of the building, and shows a formal garden with a fountain in the centre (Fig. 8).

The plan of Matteo Gregorio de Rossi (1680) (Fig. 9)<sup>1</sup> which is of some interest for the topography of the district at this time, marks a *Pal(azzo) de Mencarini* in the western portion of the block, fronting on to the Corso. It had as a fact been built in 1662 for the Duke of Nevers by Carlo Rainaldi; though the original edition of Falda's bird's-eye view shows only small houses on the site, whereas the editions of 1697 and 1705 show the palace, under the more correct designation of Mazzarini. It was bought by Louis XIV. for the French Academy, and after the transference of the latter to Villa Medici, changed hands several times.<sup>2</sup>

Cardinal Chigi's library<sup>3</sup> was of considerable importance, while his castle at Formello<sup>4</sup> to the north of the site of Veii, contained a collection of geological and natural history specimens.

He also possessed a fine picture gallery, a short list of the contents of which is given in the guide books of the period.<sup>5</sup>

Lanciani<sup>6</sup> notes various antiques mentioned by Ficoroni and Bartoli as having passed into his possession.<sup>7</sup> They probably continued to belong

<sup>1</sup> Hülsen, p. 94, Nos. 128, 129.

<sup>2</sup> Cállari, *Palazzi di Roma*, p. 262.

<sup>3</sup> *Nota delli Musei, Librerie, Gallerie ecc.* Roma, 1664 (annexed to the 1664 edition of Lunadoro's *Relatione della Corte di Roma*), p. 17. Cardinale Flavio Chigi. Biblioteca celebre di ottimi autori in ogni studio di lettere numerosissima & scelta delle migliori impressioni, nel palazzo a Santi Apostoli, con ornamenti di pitture di chiari Artefici, & di statue antiche, e col Museo delle curiosità naturali, peregrine, ed antiche; nel suo castello di Formello.

<sup>4</sup> Tomassetti, *Campagna Romana Antica, Medioevale e Moderna*, iii. 102, who describes the villa that the Cardinal caused to be constructed there in 1670-82, in imitation of the splendours of Versailles. (An inventory of the few antiques which it contained in 1705 in *Doc. Ined.* iv. p. 407, and of those preserved at Formello in 1793, *ib.* p. 417.)

<sup>5</sup> *Description de la ville de Rome par F. D. P.* (1690), tom. ii. p. 151 sqq.

<sup>6</sup> *Storia degli Scavi*, i. 153.

<sup>7</sup> Ficoroni, *Mem.* 103 (*ap.* Fea, *Misc.* i. 168); Bartoli, *Mem.* 9 (Fea, *cit.* 224). 'In the papacy of Innocent X. there was found in the Orto Cornovaglia (the Orto Botanico on the Caelian) a lioness of granite (porphyry, according to Bartoli) which was in the possession of Cardinal Flavio Chigi, and has with other statues now gone to adorn the palace of the Elector at Dresden in Saxony' (see the inventory in *Documenti Inediti*, ii. p. 178, No. 67). Bartoli, *Mem.* 57 (Fea, *cit.* 236). 'In making the foundations of the new fountain on the same side as the new porticos (i.e. in the Piazza di S. Pietro, on the left) there were found some ancient sarcophagi, without its being possible to conjecture whether



to the family, and passed to Palazzo Chigi in Piazza Colonna. The interest which the Cardinal took in antiquities is further vouched for by the dedication to him by Pietro Sante Bartoli of the *Admiranda*<sup>1</sup>; a part of the title page, with the beginning of the dedication and a portrait of the Cardinal, is here reproduced (Fig. 10).



FIG. 10. —PART OF THE DEDICATION OF THE *Admiranda Romanarum Antiquitatum* OF PIETRO SANTE BARTOLI.

In 1693 the Cardinal died, and by his will left his possessions, except those in Tuscany, to the heirs of the Chigi family.<sup>2</sup>

The palace was let in the next year to Don Livio Odescalchi, nephew they were Christian or Pagan; one of which was conveyed to the garden of the palace of Cardinal Chigi.

Id. *Mem.* 147 (*Roma Antica* (1741) i. 363; Fea, *cit.* 266). ' (In the time of Innocent X.) there was discovered (in the villa of Domitian at Castel Gandolfo) a staircase . . . adorned with four most beautiful Fauns . . . the Fauns I think are in Palazzo Chigi.' (*Doc. Ined. cit.* No. 38).

Id. *Mem.* 152 (*Roma Antica, cit.* 355; Fea, *cit.* 269); Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, 65. ' (At Isola Farnese) above there is a great plateau, sown with corn; on which at the time of Pope Alexander VII., Cardinal Chigi ordered excavations to be made, and a very beautiful temple of the Ionic order with fluted columns was found. . . . An altar with very beautiful Etruscan figures, five palms (1.11 m.) high, was found, which is now preserved in the palace of Cardinal Chigi.'

<sup>1</sup> The first edition of the *Admiranda* appeared in 1680; the second in 1693.

<sup>2</sup> The library and the natural history museum were amalgamated with the library founded by Alexander VII. in the Palazzo Chigi in Piazza Colonna; see Piazza, *Delle Librerie Romane* (appendix to his *Eusevologio Romano*, ed. ii. 1698), p. cxix. Aggiunge grande splendore, e splendidezza a questa Libreria Palazzo e Famiglia, l'accrescimento della celebre Biblioteca del Cardinale Flavio Chigi di chiara memoria, fornita d'autori d'ogni studio di Lettere, e scelta delle migliori impressioni, col Museo delle curiosità naturali, peregrine, e antiche.

of Pope Innocent XI.,<sup>1</sup> who had purchased the Dukedom of Bracciano from the Orsini in 1693.

He had bought in 1691 the collections, which Queen Christina of Sweden had formed from various sources,<sup>2</sup> from the property left by her intimate friend and heir Cardinal Decio Azzolini<sup>3</sup> to his nephew, Marchese Pompeo Azzolini.

The collection of gems and coins consisted of 6,292 pieces, and a description of it had been in contemplation, but the plates, 103 in number, which had been engraved by Pietro Sante Bartoli, were only published in 1747<sup>4</sup> in two volumes, with an index, but no further text, to each. A few small bronzes<sup>5</sup> were included among them, but in the main they refer to the gems. A second edition appeared in 1751-2, with text by Nicola Galeotti and Bussi.

The collection was sold to the Vatican in 1794 for 20,000 scudi.<sup>6</sup> With it was the famous cameo at one time supposed to represent

<sup>1</sup> For the family of the Odescalchi, who came from the Valtellina, see F. de Bojani, *Innocent XI.* (1910), Chap. I. Don Livio was the son of the Pope's eldest brother, Carlo Odescalchi, who had married a lady of the Cusani family. (Bojani, p. 6.) After the death of his father in 1673, Livio was adopted by his uncle, who summoned him to Rome. See the interesting account with full documentary evidence given by Bojani (p. 8 f. ; p. 16 ff.), of the relations between uncle and nephew.

<sup>2</sup> De Bildt, *Les Médailles romaines de Christine de Suède*, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> De Bildt, *Christine de Suède et le Cardinal Azzolino* (Paris, 1899).

<sup>4</sup> *Museum Odescalchum sive Thesaurus antiquarum Gemmarum quae a serenissima Christina Suecorum regina collectae in Museo Odescalco asservantur, et a Petro sancte Bartolo quondam incisae, nunc primum in lucem proferuntur.* Romae, MDCC xlvii. Prostant apud Venantium Monaldini Bibliopolam in Via Cursus. The frontispiece, engraved by Karl Gustav von Amling in 1702 (the year of his death), represents the young King of Sweden, according to Sotheby's catalogue; Meyer treats it as an unknown portrait. He also engraved a portrait of Don Livio Odescalchi. Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*, i. 409; (Th. Hampe, art. 'Amling'); Meyer, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, i. 639, Nos. 89, 113. [A short, but good account of the collection is given by Furtwaengler, *Antike Gemmen*, iii. p. 408, who states that a first edition of forty-three of Bartoli's prints was issued soon after the Duke's death in 1713, with Amling's title-page of 1702. No sort of order was observed in the arrangement of the plates, either of the earlier edition or of that of 1747, and there was no text.]

<sup>5</sup> The small bronze Venus figured on Plate 35 of the *Museum Odescalchum*, and repeated from that illustration by Clarac 610, 1354 (327, 5 R) has disappeared (Hübner, p. 13). It was originally in the collection of the antiquary Borioni. Among the other bronzes reproduced in *Mus. Odesc.* were two statuettes of Priapus; Reinach, *Répert.* ii. 73, 7, ii. 74, 2 (see also *Bonner Jahrb.* 27, Pl. 2, No. 3, p. 56); a so-called 'Genius of Flenty' or 'Vertumnus' *ibid.* ii. 47, 7; also group of bull and bear, *ibid.* ii. 737, 6; a bust of Zeus with winged thunderbolt (*Museum*, Pl. 33); a bust of Serapis (*ib.* Pl. 34) and a number of reliefs with sacred subjects belonging to bases or altars. The present whereabouts of these pieces is unknown.

<sup>6</sup> There is a catalogue of the coins printed in *Doc. Ined.* iii. 293 sqq. which served for checking the collection when it came into the Vatican.

Augustus and Livia (more correctly Alexander and Olympias)<sup>1</sup> originally in the collection of the Gonzaga family at Mantua. Under Napoleon, however, the splendid gem apparently migrated to Paris with the rest and eventually came into the possession of the Empress Josephine, who in 1814 presented it to the Emperor Alexander I. of Russia. Since then it has ranked among the greatest art treasures of the Hermitage.<sup>2</sup>

The coins passed to France by the treaty of Tolentino in 1797, and were incorporated in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1799.<sup>3</sup>

In 1699 Don Livio gave hospitality to Maria Casimira, the widowed Queen of Poland, whose father, the Cardinal d'Archieti, inhabited the Palazzo Cibo, now the Palazzo Ruffo, which was then connected with the Palazzo Odescalchi by an archway over the Vicolo del Piombo. She remained his guest until 1702.

Valesio tells us in his diary for the 2nd of July, 1701,<sup>4</sup> how the cardinal's servants, in order to kill the mosquitos, placed lighted braziers of sulphur in some of the rooms, and closed the windows, and by this means succeeded not only in killing the mosquitos, but in ruining some of Don Livio's furniture, and valuable pictures and hangings. We hear also how in July (*Diary* for the 10th), 1703,<sup>5</sup> Don Livio was swindled by some northerners, of the Dousterswivel order, who announced that a great treasure was hidden near Palo, and agreed to share the investigation with him on the understanding that they should have several hundred scudi when the first objects were found, and several thousand when the whole treasure was discovered. They began to dig in various places, and found a number of coins and three ancient lamps which they were supposed to have hidden themselves; these they presented to Don Livio, and received the first reward, after which they were no more seen.

<sup>1</sup> The gem is published in the *Museum Odescalchum*, Pl. 15, with the inscription 'Olimpia & Alexandro.' Subsequently various other interpretations were proposed which are fully enumerated by Furtwaengler, *op. cit.* text to Pl. XLIII. 2. E. Q. Visconti (*Icon. Grecque*, iii. p. 204, Pl. 53, No. 3), however, maintained the Alexander and Olympias theory, which was also supported by Furtwaengler, and now seems generally accepted. The latest discussion is by J. J. Bernoulli, *Die erhaltenen Darstellungen Alexanders des Grossen*, 1905, p. 126 ff. The cameo, a large sardonyx in three layers, is held by Furtwaengler to be only very slightly inferior in quality to the cameo with the same subject in Vienna.

<sup>2</sup> On all this see Furtwaengler, *loc. cit.*, and *Beschr. Roms*, iii. 3. 178.

<sup>3</sup> Gaebler, *Die Münzsammlung der Königin Christine von Schweden in Corolla Numismatica* (Oxford, 1906).

<sup>4</sup> *Archivio Storico Capitolino*, Cred. xiv. vol. II, f. 109v.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* vol. 13, f. 132v.

Don Livio also purchased the Villa Montalto at Frascati, presumably from the Peretti family.<sup>1</sup>

Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi dedicated to him the set of engravings of gardens of Rome by Giovanni Battista Falda, which he published.<sup>2</sup> The graceful title page is given as our Fig. II.

In 1700 he erected the tomb of his uncle Innocent XI. (d. 1689) in S. Peter's. In the statue, which is the work of Étienne Monnat,



FIG. II.—TITLE-PAGE OF FALDA'S *Giardini Romani*.

the Pope is represented in the act of benediction; while a bas-relief records the liberation of Vienna from the Turks.<sup>3</sup>

In 1713, the year of his death, he erected the hospital and church

<sup>1</sup> Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, iii. 54; *Papers of the British School at Rome*, v. 250. Mattei (*Memorie dell' Antico Tuscolo*, 18), writing in 1713, is the first author who speaks of it as *Villa Odescalca*. In 1835 it was sold to the Collegio di Propaganda Fide. It now belongs to Duke Grazioli.

<sup>2</sup> *Li Giardini Romani*. The plates still exist at the Regia Calcografia, but not, apparently, that of the frontispiece.

<sup>3</sup> Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, vol. vi. p. 164, No. 607.

of S. Galla,<sup>1</sup> an illustration of which is given in the *Secondo Libro del Nuovo Splendore delle Chiese di Roma Moderna* (ed. 1773), Pl. 30. The architect was Mattia de Rossi.

By his will,<sup>2</sup> bearing datè September 8th, he ordered his heir, Baldassare Erba, to assume his name, to construct a magnificent sepulchral chapel in the church of the SS. Apostoli, and to maintain open house in Rome; and authorised him, if he wished to purchase the palace, to take the necessary capital from the family resources. He forbade him to sell any of his collections, particularly those which he had bought from the Queen of Sweden, unless at a considerable profit; and the price accepted for the whole was not to be less than 380,000 scudi; as a justification for this, he had, he added, already had an offer of 600,000 scudi for her furniture at the beginning of the war, while the Queen herself had once refused an offer from France of 100,000 scudi for the tapestries of Raphael (see below).

The statues which were in the Palazzo Odescalchi at the time of his death were described in an inventory drawn up in the same year.<sup>3</sup> The great majority of them came from the collection of Queen Christina, and are expressly noted as having been so acquired. The lists in the guide books of the period naturally name only the more important statues, and the arrangement in rooms is somewhat different. The description of Pinarolo, *Roma Moderna*, 1703, ii. p. 66, 1713, ii. p. 69, 1725, iii. p. 2, is identical with that of the *Descrizione di Roma Moderna* 1708 and 1719, p. 38, and of Deseine (1713), *Rome Moderne*, i. p. 216. It may be interesting to quote the last named:

Devant l'église des Saints Apôtres il y a le Palais qui fut bâti pour le Card. *Flavio Chigi*, sur le dessein du *Cavalier Bernin*. Le prince Don *Livio Odescalchi* neveu d'*Innocent XI* y demeure. L'on remarque dans la Cour deux Statuës singulières de *César Auguste* and de *Caligula*. Les Apartemens sont remplis de meubles les plus précieux, qui appartoient à la Reine *Christine* de *Suede* à la *Longara*, que ce Prince a aquis de ses héritiers: entr' autres ses belles tapisseries de hautes lices d'or & de

<sup>1</sup> Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, vol. xii. pp. 407, 409, Nos. 501, 502; the hospice of S. Michele a Ripa was built by Mgr. Carlo Tommaso Odescalchi, another nephew of Pope Innocent XI. (*op. cit.* vol. xi. p. 508, No. 732; cf. p. 504).

<sup>2</sup> This document, drawn up by the notary Leandro Antonio Caioli, is now preserved in the Archivio Notarile Distrettuale in Rome (*Arch.* 16, vol. 280, parte 2a, f. 112 sqq.) where I have examined it.

<sup>3</sup> *Archivio Storico Capitolino*, sez. v. prot. 15-16; printed in *Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei Musei d'Italia*, iv. pp. 329 sqq.

soie, de l' Histoire d' *Auguste, Marc Antoine, & Cléopâtre* du dessein de *Raphaël* & de *Jule Romain*. Entre les Statuës, celle de *Clytie* changée en souci : celles de *Trajan, Antonin Pie, & Marc Aurèle* ; la Statuë de *Vesta* ; la Tête du Roi *Pyrrhus*, & d' *Alexandre le Grand* ; celles des neuf *Muses, Apollon & Jupiter*, de *Castor & Pollux*, & de *Leda* ; une Statuë singulière d'un *Faune*, qui porte un agneau sur ses épaules ; Une Statuë de *Jule Cesar*, dont le corps est d'agate & albâtre ; mais la tête, les bras, and les jambes, sont de bronze doré : un Bas-relief de marbre, avec un sacrifice de *Bacchus* : un boeuf and une vache de marbre, fort expressifs : plusieurs Colonnes d'albâtre de diverses couleurs, & de verd antique de diverses espèces : & sur quelques-unes il y a des statues, quantité de Tables d'albâtre, & une d'amethyste Orientale.

The collection of statuary was sold in 1724 by the prince of Erba,<sup>1</sup> the heir of Don Livio, to Philip V. of Spain, through the intermediation of the sculptor, Camillo Rusconi, who was authorised by Cardinal Acquaviva, the Spanish plenipotentiary in Rome. The price paid was 12,000 doubloons (about £9,400).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Elba is an obvious error in Hübner's text. Innocent XI's sister had married one of the Erba of Milan ; for the subsequent relationship see Bojani, p. 5, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> So Ponz, *Viage de España* (1781), x. p. 118, quoted by Hübner, *Antike Bildwerke in Madrid*, p. 14. As Michaelis (*Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 66) points out, Winckelmann (in a letter to Mengs of Nov. 18, 1761, reprinted in *Opere di R. Mengs*, Rome, 1787, p. 420) states the price at 51,000 scudi (about £11,500) and Fea *Storia delle Arti di Disegno*, ii. p. 38) at 25,000 doppi, or nearly 75,000 scudi (about £16,800).

The following numbers in Hübner's *Antike Bildwerke in Madrid* can be identified (and further study might well reveal more) as having belonged to the Odescalchi collection from the inventory already cited. The paragraphs of the inventory are not numbered, but the following arbitrary numbering may be of use as a guide to the reader. It did not seem worth while to repeat the whole text of the inventory ; this I reserve for a later occasion.

Hübner.	Inv.	Hübner.	Inv.	Hübner.	Inv.
2 (or 3)	70 (?)	59	81	191	Not 81a
4	107	60	15		(testa moderna
5	97	63	53		di Cicerone in
9	20	67	62		marmo)
14	106	68	17	198	10
21	74	75	18 (?)	205	39
23	46 (?)	76, 77	77	208	25
24	75	81	16	209	99
26	61	82	18 (or 75?)	216	26 (?)
28	83	83	19	219, 220	35, 36
29	60	84	73	243	9 (?)
31	83a (?)	86	86 (?)	264	87
33	102	93	98	268	11
34	104	96	8	274	4
36	72	102	24	275	5 (?)
37	Not 100 (which	103	2 (?)	289	103
	is too small)	104	6 (?)	335, 336	21, 22
40	93	119	84		(but these are
41	1	185	7		larger)
45	47	188	59	9*, 11*, 19*, 12a, 23, 2 37,	
48-56	27-34			29*,	38.

The descriptions in *Roma Antica e Moderna*, 1745, ii. 140 (= 1750, ii. p. 277) and also

The statues now in the palace have, therefore, been acquired since the sale of the older Odescalchi collection to the King of Spain. They consist of<sup>1</sup> :—

(a) *Male draped statue*, of the type known as a 'consul' or an 'orator,' with the right hand projecting from the drapery.

The ancient head (nose restored) is connected with the body by a neck of disproportionate length, but the head probably belongs to the statue, as the patina and execution of both seem the same. The treatment of the eyes indicates that it belongs to the third century A.D. The body below the arms (excluding r. and l. arms and hands) and the legs, are antique, but the feet and plinth are modern, and there is a large patch of drapery restored over the right foot. A *scrinium* or *capsa* on the left has been roughly blocked out.

(b) *Female statue*, with an ancient head (nose restored) which seems foreign to it. The head is of a severe matronal type, with the heavy crown of plaits characteristic of the Trajanic period. The antique torso is a copy of an Hellenistic type, with high girdling. The breasts have been chiselled away. *Modern*: left forearm, with the hand, which holds a patera; entire right arm and hand; legs, from mid-thigh, with feet and plinth.

(c) *Male torso restored as Herakles*. Over life size. The torso and the right leg to the knee are alone ancient; the left arm holding the apples was probably restored from the shoulder, and rebroken. The right arm hung by the side. According to Arndt the style of the torso recalls in various respects the style of the Omphalos Apollo. The restoration, with the bearded head, belongs to the late Renaissance, but is probably correct (Matz-Duhn, 108; *E.A.* 2062).

(d) *Nude male torso*. Above life size, restored with head of ephebe; the torso, which is of Polycleitan type and rather heavy, is slightly inclined to the front, to the left, as though the figure were moving forward. The right arm was hanging down, the left was bent at the elbow. The workmanship seems mediocre, and Mr. Parsons

Venuti's account (*Roma Moderna*, ed. 1767, 8<sup>vo</sup>, vol. i. p. 255) are quite inaccurate. He begins by copying some phrases from the *Roma Moderna* of 1708, p. 381, attributing the statues in the courtyard to the remains of the Chigi collection, and then proceeds to describe as still existing in the upper rooms numerous statues which had already been conveyed to Spain, again copying the description already cited.

The same is the case with the account in the 1763 edition of Titi's *Studio di Pittura* (ed. 1763) p. 316, which was also revised by Venuti.

<sup>1</sup> The lettering begins at the southeast angle of the courtyard, near the entrance. Those in the courtyard, with the exception of *k* and *l*, have been placed there since 1881. The descriptions of the statues were to have been revised and completed by Mrs. Strong, who, however, owing to a somewhat severe accident, was unable to see to the matter. Both Mrs. Strong and I here desire to record our gratitude to Mr. Harold Parsons and to the Russian archaeologist, Dr. E. de Mercklin, not only for kindly undertaking the revision and supplying references, but also for carefully verifying on the originals the statements in Matz-Duhn and in the text of the *Einzelaufnahmen*. To Mr. Parsons, moreover, we owe important references for the subsequent history of certain of the pictures.

and Dr. de Mercklin, in their careful examination of the statue, could find about it none of the 'vortreffliche Arbeit' noted by Arndt, who probably judged from the excellent photograph made for the *E.A.* rather than from the original itself. Matz-Duhn, 1010; *E.A.* 2063.

(e) *Draped male statue*: of the same type as (a). The head is modern and very much weathered; the rest is of common Luna marble. The figure is broken right through, above the feet and at top of caps, and this lower portion has been clumsily readjusted.

(f) *Draped female statue*: The head (left eyebrow damaged; nose and upper lip restored), is antique, but may not belong to the figure; it is of the type of the period of Julia Mamaea, with a broad plait brought up from the nape of the neck to the front. The coiffure is interesting, but the head has been drastically cleaned, probably with acids. *Restored*: The neck and left shoulder, the l. forearm, the r. arm including the drapery just above, bits of drapery on the left; the right kneecap, the r. foot and forepart of l. foot and plinth.

The drapery across the body and gathered over the left arm goes back to a favourite Hellenistic model. The figure is remarkable for its slimness and flatness from back to front, having obviously been composed for a niche.

(g) *Nude male statue*: restored with a head of Apollo of archaic type; the torso, with the locks on the shoulders, is of fourth century character, and is alone antique. Arndt in *E.A.* is wrong in saying that the locks on the shoulders are modern, as they are worked in one piece with the body. *E.A.* 2065.

(h) *Nude torso*: restored as an ephebe; the modern head has a dreamy expression. The torso, which is alone antique (with the right thigh and leg to below knee, and the left arm to elbow) is of fifth century type.<sup>1</sup> *E.A.* 2064.

(i) In centre of court a late Renaissance or modern imitation of a statue of the Hermes-Antinous type: the drapery is Berninesque. All the fingers are broken.

Two big iron pins are placed obliquely under the left breast, beneath the end of the short drapery hanging over the shoulder. Their purpose is uncertain; they cannot have supported a *balteus*, as this would have left a trace across the body. They were perhaps intended for the attachment of a further piece of drapery which has now disappeared. Near the base of the spine is another iron pin, which may have served to fasten the statue to a niche.

On the base of the pedestal: *ex hortis Chisianis* 1891.

(k) *Colossal male statue* (at the north end of the eastern portico, close to the stairs that led up to the British School).

*Restored*: Head, both arms, from the biceps on; upper part of tree trunk.

The figure stands on the right leg, the left arm is uplifted. Bernoulli rightly observes that the modern head is not, as was once supposed, a portrait of Claudius, but seems copied rather from a Republican type, similar to the so-called Scipio or priest of Isis.

<sup>1</sup> All the statues in the courtyard are over life size, but are so much restored that measurements are entirely out of the question. The weathering in some cases makes it difficult to control the restorations.



Matz-Duhn, 1036; Clarac, 940 D, 2382 B (= p. 580, 6 R); Bernoulli, *Roem. Icon.* ii. 1, 334.

(l) *Colossal male statue*: (under the southern portico in front of a shallow niche above the fountain of the Acqua Vergine).

The figure is nude and stands on the left leg; the right arm is uplifted. Probably an idealised Roman Imperial portrait. Bernoulli, without any knowledge of the original, tentatively suggested Hadrian, which is impossible. In Clarac, the statue

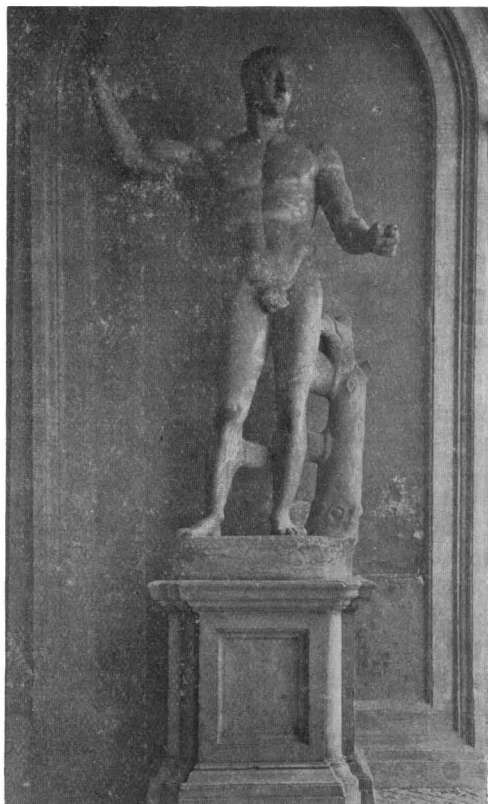


FIG. 12.—NUDE MALE STATUE IN PALAZZO ODESCALCHI.

is named Maximian, an attribution equally out of the question. According to Arndt and Amelung in *E.A.* (which see for restorations and criticism), it is more probably a statue of the first century (Fig. 12).

Bernoulli, ii. 2, 109; ii. 3, 199; *E.A.* 2058–60; Clarac, 940 D, 2525 A (= p. 580, 5 R).

(m) *Replica of the Aphrodite Valentini*: (in a niche on the stairs leading up to the apartments of Prince Odescalchi).

Great toe and next toe of left foot missing. For restorations see Arndt, who, in the text to *E.A.*, states that the Odescalchi statue seems identical with the statue in the Pamphili collection figured by Clarac, 981, 2519 C (605, 3 R)—lettered *e* in the text to Brunn-Bruckmann. There are no other cases known to me of the passage of statues from the one collection to the other.

Matz-Duhn, 605; Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 654, n. 1 = *Masterpieces*, p. 400, note 2; Brunn-Bruckmann, text to Pl. 576, n. 6, No. *b*; Arndt-Amelung, *E.A.* 2061.

The following statues which Matz-Duhn saw in the Odescalchi collection before 1881 (when they were on the second landing of the stairs) have been removed elsewhere:

No. 166, nude male statue, called *Hermes* by Matz-Duhn, now Ny Carlsberg, No. 271 = Reinach, *Rép.* iv. 370, 4.

No. 180 (archaic Apollo with head unbroken) = *E. A.* 1986-90 (Rome, in the shop of one Marcocchia).

No. 1053, with modern head of the type of Caligula. No. 1054, a similar statue with chlamys, and No. 1000, with a head of Doryphoros type are all missing.

Besides these, there are still preserved in the palace, in one of the saloons on the first floor, two bases, with figures of provinces, from the Hadrianeum in Piazza di Pietra,<sup>1</sup> which were discovered under Pope Alexander VII., and presented by him to Cardinal Flavio Chigi. They were placed on the stairs, where they were still seen by Venuti (*cit. supra*, p. 74) unless he is once more guilty of inaccuracy; for they are omitted in the inventory of 1713. Three reliefs of trophies, found at the same time and also placed in the palace, have disappeared, and are not mentioned by any of our authorities except the unknown draughtsman of the *Cod. Barb.*, who expressly states that he saw them in this palace (which he of course calls Palazzo Chigi), and no doubt drew the two bases with figures of provinces here also.

The pictures were bought for the Duc d'Orléans and were placed in his famous gallery in the Palais Royal.<sup>2</sup> The Orléans Collection was

<sup>1</sup> *Cod. Barb.* xlvi. 101 (now *Barb. Lat.* 4333), f. 18, 22; P. S. Bartoli, *Mem.* 78, 115, *apud* Fea, *Miscellanea*, i. 247, 255; Lucas, *Jahrb. d. Inst.* xv. (1900) p. 8, E (not identified) F (so-called *Moesia*), p. 18, iii. p. 20, vii. p. 21, ix; Hülsen, *Topographie*, i. 3, 608.

<sup>2</sup> *Beschreibung Roms*, iii. 3, 178; a good account of the Orléans Collection is given by Waagen in his *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, II, p. 485 ff. Many of the Odescalchi pictures were engraved in the large and costly work *Galerie du Palais Royal* by Couché and others (1786-1806): the important work on the Orléans Collection by Casimir Stryenski.

sold in London in 1792. The history of its dispersion, with notes on the present whereabouts of the pictures, has, it seems, been made the subject of a recent sumptuous work by Casimir Stryenski. The collection is enumerated as follows in Deseine's *Rome Moderne* (1713), i. 216 :—

Quantité de Tableaux qui valent des trésors. On voit dans la grande Sale de grands Tableaux de Paysage du Sr. *Monaville* Flaman, & du *Crescentio* Romain ; & les Statues des Empereurs *Tite* & *Lucius Verus*. Dans le Sale d'audience, 8 histoires de *Paul Rubens* ; neuf Tableaux du *Corrége*, entr' autres la *Danaë* d'un gout merveilleux.<sup>1</sup> Dans une autre, douze Tableaux de *Paul Véronis* ; le Tableau de la Sainte Famille, de *Raphael d'Urbain*<sup>2</sup> ; un *Ganymède* dessiné par *Michael Ange Buonarota*, & peint par *Annibal Carracci* ; la Sybille de *Guide* &c. Dans une autre chambre, des Tableaux (longues) d'histoire, de *Jule* Romain ; deux Portraits du

*La Galerie du Régent Philippe Duc d'Orléans* (Paris, 1913) to which M. S. Reinach kindly draws my attention, is not at present accessible to me.

<sup>1</sup> Pinarolo adds that one of them represented Leda. See *Antonio Allegri da Correggio*, by Corrado Ricci (trans. Simmonds), London, 1896, p. 314. 'Both pictures, the Danaë and Leda, were at Stockholm in the middle of the seventeenth century. Mentioned in the inventory of Christina's collections, 1652, which is preserved in the Stockholm library. She carried the Danaë, Leda, and a copy of the Io to Rome, with many other pictures, and left them on her death to Cardinal Decio Azzolini. His nephew, Marchese Pompeo, sold them to Don Livio Odescalchi, Duke of Bracciano, from whose heirs they were bought by the Regent d'Orléans.

'The narrow bigotry of his son Louis condemned them as obscene ; his uneasy scruples were fostered by his confessor, the Abbé of S. Geneviève, who persuaded him to destroy them. A knife was driven through that flesh to which a supreme act had given the very semblance of life, and the fair heads of Leda and Io were severed from their bodies.' Charles Coypel, keeper of the gallery, saved the fragments. At the sale of Coypel's collections in 1752 they were bought by Pasquier. On his death shortly afterwards, they were acquired for Frederick the Great by the Comte D'Epinaillès. In 1806 they were carried off to Paris by Napoleon, but were restored eight years later, and in 1830 were placed in the Berlin gallery, where they still remain. The head of Io was repainted by Prudhon ; that of Leda by Schlesinger.

'The Danaë, which had escaped the ferocious prudery of Louis of Orleans, passed to London with the rest of the family collection, and was then sold to the Duke of Bridgewater. In 1816 it was bought by Henry Hope for £183. In 1823 it returned to Paris, where it was finally sold to the Princess Borghese. The Princess took it to Rome, and placed it in her famous gallery, of which it now forms one of the chief ornaments.' The Danaë is the only one of Correggio's mythological pictures remaining in Italy.

<sup>2</sup> Evidently the 'Madonna del Passeggio,' now Bridgewater House, No. 37 (Stryenski, *Cat.* No. 125). It is worth mentioning here that the predella of the 'Colonna altar-piece,' now in the Metropolitan Museum, N.Y., was sold in 1663 to Christina of Sweden by the nuns of Sant' Antonio in Perugia. The predella came into the possession of Cardinal Azzolini at her death ; then passed to Don Livio Odescalchi ; then to the Regent d'Orléans. It consisted of five panels : (1) 'Christ on the Mount of Olives,' now in the possession of Lady Burdett-Coutts. (2) 'Christ bearing the Cross,' Lord Windsor. (3) 'The lamentation over Christ,' Mrs. Gardner, Fenway Court, Boston ; (4 and 5) 'S. Francis of Assisi and S. Anthony of Padua,' Dulwich College. (For these notices see 'Raffaël' in *Klassiker der Kunst* series, p. 223 ; Stryenski, *Cat.* Nos. 131, 132, 130, 128-129.)

vieux *Bassan*, de lui & de sa femme ; les Portraits des Empereurs *Vitellius* & *Titus*, peints par le *Titien* ; *Cupidon* du *Parmesan* ; la *Venus*, du *Caracci* ; *Saint Pierre* crucifié du *Calabrois* ; divers portraits du *Tintoret* ; un grand Tableau de la resurrection de *Lazare*, du *Titien* ; l'Histoire de *Milon*, du *Bordonone* ; quelques Tableaux de *Michel Ange* de *Caravaggio* ; & dans le Cabinet du Prince, deux Cabinets de Medailles antiques, rares, & bien conservées, de tous métaux, d'un grand prix, avec des Camayeux & pierres gravées excellentes.

In 1723 Baldassare Odescalchi, son of Antonio Maria Erba, the ruling marquis, nephew of the sister of Innocent XI., heir of Livio Odescalchi, Duke of Sirmio, Bracciano and Ceri, erected the chapel of S. Antonio di Padova in SS. Apostoli and in front of it formed the family tomb, as an inscription in the pavement records.<sup>1</sup> It was not, however, until 1745 that he purchased the palace from Agostino Chigi for 90,000 scudi (Appendix V.).

It is described in the contract of sale as consisting of a ground floor and two upper floors, with cellars, kitchens, attics, a garden on the end of the first floor, stables in the courtyard with storage for corn above them, various fountains in the court, garden and kitchens, a staircase in the corner beyond the garden on the way to the Vicolo di S. Marcello. It had two stables, one under the first floor beyond the arch over the Vicolo del Piombo on the upper side, and at the back, on the side of the Vicolo di S. Marcello, another stable with two doors and a mezzanine floor above it, bounded on the side of the arch by the Palazzo Altemps and the church of the Madonna di Loreto, on the side of the Vicolo del Piombo by the Palazzo di Nivers, then belonging to the French Academy, and on the side of the Vicolo di S. Marcello by another palace facing the church of S. Maria in Via Lata in the Corso, which served as the residence of the servants, and which contained two floors, with shops and a mezzanine floor below. This building may be clearly seen in Falda's bird's-eye view (Fig. 8). There were also two small houses in the block, one on the side of the Corso, opposite the Palazzo Pamfili, containing two floors, with a shop below, a courtyard with a fountain, a kitchen over the fountain, and a cellar.

He at once entrusted to Nicola Salvi the duty of enlarging the palace by suppressing the garden and lengthening the façade. Milizia<sup>2</sup> criticises it unmercifully as being too low for its length. He objects also (a) that

<sup>1</sup> Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, vol. ii. p. 274, No. 841.

<sup>2</sup> *Memorie degli Architetti* (Parma, 1781), iii. 221 ; (Bologna, 1827), ii. 267.

the composite pilasters should not embrace two floors, (b) that the small order of the windows of the first floor does not go well with these large pilasters, (c) that the alternately curved and triangular pediments are objectionable, (d) that the form and decorations of the upper windows are bad, and those of the cornice even worse, with single brackets over the windows, and double over the pilasters, (e) that the balustrade does not agree with the wings, (f) that the internal arcades of the portico are too low.

An idea of the appearance of the palace and the piazza at the end



FIG. 13.—THE PALAZZO ODESCALCHI AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

of the eighteenth century may be obtained from Pl. 84 of Vasi's *Magnificenze di Roma* (Fig. 13). Piranesi (*Vedute di Roma*, No. 727 of his complete works) also has a very fine view of it, while a smaller view by him will be found in Venuti's *Roma Moderna*, vol. i. (opposite p. 294). Since that time it has undergone practically no changes, as will be clear from Figs. 14–16. In the last view we may notice that the fountain shown in Fig. 7 still exists on the west side of the courtyard, though now much overgrown by large-leaved water plants. The photographs give an idea of the quiet dignity of the building, in the summer sunlight of early

July. The deep cool shadows formed a delicious contrast to the glare without, and one realised that Renaissance Rome (and I imagine Classical Rome as well) was built for and by people who lived in the summer and existed in the winter, such stress did they lay on coolness in the hot months, without sufficiently providing for warmth in the cold season.

So it was at the best season that we left the first residence of the School, when the mellow colour of the travertine showed at its best against the brilliant blue of the summer sky. Most of the students had gone before, some seeking refuge from the heat, more called by military duties



FIG. 14.—FACADE OF THE PALAZZO ODESCALCHI.

which were soon to absorb the rest, as the claims upon us became more and more imperious. But the Palazzo Odescalchi never seemed more beautiful, more reposeful, more stately, than at the moment when the School left it; and though our new home in Valle Giulia promises to be far cooler and fresher, with its lovely view and surroundings, the splendid pine trees of the Villa Borghese and the Villa Balestra, the fresh green of the gardens and vineyards and the as yet unordered grassy spaces of the park in which it stands—and, still more, gives us the hope of being able to develop into something more worthy of our country,

with more space and resources at our command—it was impossible not to feel a real and deep regret at leaving the historic building with which, in however indirect a way, we had been connected for some fourteen years.

A few remarks on the ancestors of the present owners of the palace may not be without interest. The Odescalchi<sup>1</sup> were a family of



FIG. 15.—COURTYARD OF THE PALAZZO ODESCALCHI FROM THE ROOMS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL.

bankers in Como, who settled in Rome in the Campo di Fiore, at the beginning of the Via del Pellegrino, early in the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following is the earliest record of them known to me. At the beginning of the right aisle of the church of S. Sabina, in the pavement, is the tomb slab of Girolamo Odescalchi, merchant of Como, who died in 1518, at the age of 32, erected by his brother Giovanni Antonio. (Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, vol. vii. p. 302, No. 607). *Hieronymo Odescalco Cumensi* (sic) *integerr(imae) fidei mercatori in ipso aetat(is) flore praerepto Io(annes) Antonius moestiss(imus) bene merent(i) fratri posuit MDXVIII cal(endis) Aug(ustis) vixit ann(os) xxxii.* Cf. Bojani, cited *supra*, p. 69, n. 1..

<sup>2</sup> In 1549 we find the brothers Bernardo and Battista Odescalchi, still called merchants of Como, paying to the road board (*maestri delle strade*) their contribution *occasione novi vici nuper erecti et aperti et incepti in Campo Florae, qui tendit a dicto campo Florae versus plateam Agonis.* (Notaro Pellegrini in *Archivio di Stato*, prot. 1451, c. 8). The Via dei Baullari, which occupies this position, had already been begun in the time of Clement VII..

Among the payments recorded<sup>1</sup> in connection with the construction of the Loggia delle Cosmografie of Pius IV. in the Vatican, on the west side of the Cortile di S. Damaso, is one of February 3rd, 1564, for curtains to the loggia, to the heirs of Battista Odescalchi, no doubt one of the brothers just mentioned.

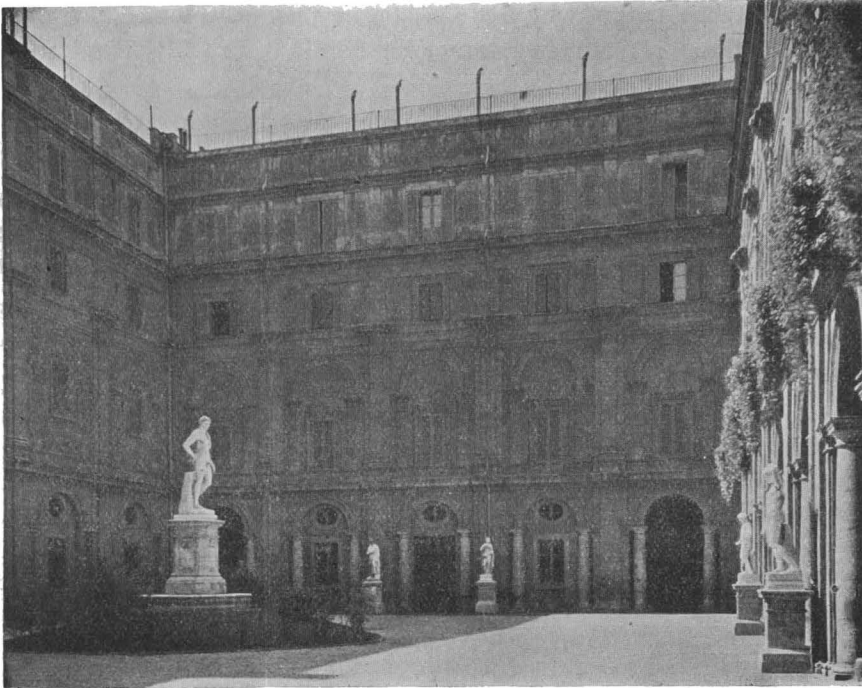


FIG. 16.—COURTYARD OF THE PALAZZO ODESCALCHI LOOKING TOWARDS THE ROOMS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL (ON THE SECOND FLOOR).

The accounts of Pius IV. also show that the heirs of Battista Odescalchi and their firm had undertaken the administration of the funds for the provision of building materials for the conversion of a part of the

though it is a little difficult to see what other street than this could be meant (Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, ii. 10, 233).

<sup>1</sup> The document, preserved at the Archivio di Stato, is an account book kept by Piero Giovanni Aleotto, bishop of Forlì, the Pope's maestro di Camera. It is cited by Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, iii. 214. 'Agli heredi di M. Battista Odescalchi scudi 42 b(aiocchi) 30 p(er) pagamento di canne 142 di tela bottane (?) . . . p(er) farne le cortine inanzi le cosmografie della loggia suprema del Pal(a)zzo Apos(toli)co.'



baths of Diocletian into the church of S. Maria degli Angeli and the Cistercian monastery attached to it.<sup>1</sup>

Franzini (*Palatia Procerum Romanae Urbis*, 1596, A. 13) has a view of the *Palatium D(omi)nor(um) Lodescalcum (sic)* no doubt the building then situated in the Campo di Fiore,<sup>2</sup> though there is no building of the kind to be seen there now, the houses being of more recent date.

The statue figured by De Cavalleriis may, of course, very easily have passed out of the possession of the family before they came to their present palace.

In 1645 Benedetto Odescalchi, who was born in 1611 at Como, and was thus a member of another branch of the family, was created Cardinal by Innocent X. His palace was situated near S. Caterina dei Funari.<sup>3</sup> In 1676 he became Pope. His nephew, Don Livio, was made a prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and after the Pope's death in 1689, was granted the title of Duke of Sirmio. The Pope, too, attached the title of Duke to the fief of Ceri, which Don Livio had bought. For the subsequent history of the family, cf. *supra*, pp. 68 *sqq.*

## APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS.

### NO. I.—EXTRACT FROM THE DEED OF SALE OF ZAGAROLO, COLONNA, GALLICANO, AND PASSERANO, BY PIERFRANCESCO COLONNA TO CARDINAL LUDOVICO LUDOVISI.

28 September, 1622. (*Arch. Colonna*, xxviii. 31).

The passage quoted sets out the necessity of selling the estates above referred to, together with the palace in Rome, to pay the creditors.

<sup>1</sup> Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, iii. 230. For notices of other members of the family see *id.* iv. 24; Forcella, *op. cit.*, vol. vii. p. 303, No. 611; vol. iv. p. 252, No. 645.

<sup>2</sup> The *statua ignoti Principis in aedibus Odescalchi* (De Cavalleriis, iii. iv. Pl. 99. Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii. 571, 7) is no longer in the family collection. It may be the third described on p. 331 of vol. iii. of the *Documenti Inediti* (Inv. 1713) as *altra statua alta pal. 10 di passetto, nuda di petto e gambe, con un panno avvolto di dietro, colle due braccia e testa moderna di Augusto, e il restante antico di maniera ordinaria*, though the statue described in the inventory is more likely to be Clarac, 916A, 2336A (563, R), which is now in Madrid (Hübner, No. 75).

<sup>3</sup> *Descr. de la ville de Rome* (1690), p. 351 (par F. D. P.) = Deseine, *Rome Moderne*, (1713), p. 499. Le petit Palais isolé proche cette Église (S. Caterina dei Funari) sert d'habitation à Don Livio Odescalchi, Duc de Cerri & de Bracciano, & Neveu du Pape Innocent XI., qui y demeura plus de vingt-cinq ans, du tems qu'il étoit Cardinal (1645-76).

P. 3. Cui praeiudicio <sup>1</sup> cum reparari nequeat nisi mediante aliquorum ex dictis bonis alienatione, residuo remanente pro dictis fid(eicommiss)is et primogenituris ut infra, ex quo facta excussione compertum sit non adesse tot bona ex quibus dicti creditores satisfieri possint, ultra dictis vinculis, primogenituris et fid(eicommiss)is supposita, vid(elice)t castrum Zagarolae, La Colonna, Gallicano, Passarano et il Palazzo di Roma.

NO. II.—EXTRACT FROM THE POPE'S PERMISSION FOR THE SALE REFERRED TO IN  
No. I. 27 Settembre 1622. (*Arch. Colonna*, ix. 5).

Pietro Fran(cesc)o Colonna Duca di Zagarolo ci ha esposto . . .

Et se bene p(er) sodisfattione di detti debiti esso Duca ha uenduto il Palazzo posto nella Piazza delli santi Apostoli al R<sup>mo</sup> Ludouico Cardinal Ludouisio Nostro Nepote, con tutto ciò il prezzo di esso con altri effetti impiegati in questa sodisfattione non è bastato a gran lunga per pagare i Creditori; et essendosi esso risoluto di uoler dare sodisfattione alli suoi Creditori, et uscire una volta di tanti fastidii et molestie et interusurij et spese . . . si è risoluto con il consiglio de suoi Periti uendere detto stato (Zagarolo) tutto unito.

NO. III.—DEED OF SALE OF THE PALACE BY STEFANO COLONNA TO CARDINAL  
FLAVIO CHIGI.

From the *Archivio Chigi*, volume marked Em. Sig. Card. Flavio Chigi Libro de Istromenti P<sup>a</sup>. (I only quote extracts).

F. 198. Venditio Palatii pro Em(inentissi)mo D(omino) Card(ina)le Flauio Chisio.

Die vigesima nona Decembris 1662 (an obvious error for 1661) a Natiut<sup>e</sup> Pontif. Alexandri 7<sup>mi</sup> anno Septimo (Notaio Paluzzi A. C.)

Cum Clar(ae) mem(oriae) Don Pompeius Columna Princeps Gallicani in testamento p(er) ipsum condito clauso, et sigillato, et in actis meis consignato sub die 3 mensis Januarii proximi secuti, et stante eius obitu sub die 6 eiusdem aperto, et publicato, Jure Legati, et alias omni alio meliori modo reliquerit Emin(entissi)mo et R(everendissi)mo D(omino) Flavio Tituli S(anct)ae Mariae de Populo S(anct)ae Romanae Ecclesiae Presbytero Cardinali Chisio nuncupato S(anctissi)mi D(omini) N(ostri) Papae secundum carnem ex fratre germano nepoti usum fructuum totius Palatii eiusdem cl(arae) me(moriae) Principis Don Pompei positi Romae in Platea, et e conspectu Basilicae S(anc)tor(um) duodecim Apostolorum, vita ipsius Em(inentissi)mi Cardinalis durante, cum onere semper retinendi unum Appartamentum eiusdem Palatii pro Ill(ustrissi)mo et R(everendissi)mo Dño Jacobo Ninio eiusdem S(anctissi)mi D(omini) N(ostri) Papae Cubicul(ario) Pr(iv)ato in quocumque futuro statu d(ict)i Ill(ustrissi)mi et R(everendissi)mi D(omini) Nini; Heredem uero suum universalem instituerit Ill(ustrissi)mum et Exc(ellentissi)mum D(ominum) Don Stephanum

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* to the finances of the family.

Columnnam Ducem Bassanelli Ill(ustrissi)mi et Exc(ellentissi)mi D(omini) Don Julii Cesaris Columnae Carbognani principis filium, dictusque Emin(entissi)mus D(ominus) Cardinalis ususfructus d(ict)i Palatii ad formam d(ict)i Legati, et Exc(ellentissi)mus D(ominus) Dux Don Stephanus Proprietatis eiusdem Palatii, necnon aliorum bonorum hereditariorum d(ict)i cl. me. Principis Don Pompei p(er) eadem acta mei superscripti) possessionis respective adepti fuerint, Idemque Emin(entissi)mus D(ominus) Cardinalis cupiens iusto titulo praefatum Palatium etiam quoad proprietatem, ac in perpetuum, una cum Domo retro dictum Palatium in Via Cursus ingressum habente pariter hereditaria d(ict)i cl. me. Principis Don Pompei pro Emin(enti)a sua, suisque heredibus acquirere, requisivit eundem Ill(ustrissi)mum et R(everendissi)mum D(ominum) Ducem, mediante Emin(entissi)mo et R(everendissi)mo Domino Sfortia Titoli S<sup>i</sup> Salvatoris in Lauro S<sup>te</sup> Romanae Ecclesiae Presbytero Cardinali Pallavicino, ad sibi Proprietatem d(ict)i Palatii ac praedictam Domum respective vendendas pro iusto pretio ; Unde suprad(ictu)s Exc(ellentissi)mus D(ominus) Dux atque etiam d(ictu)s Ex(cellentissi)mus D(ominus) Princeps eius Pater occurrentes desideriis (f. 198) eiusdem Emin(entissi)mi D(omini) Cardinalis Chisii, atque considerantes eundem Emin(entissi)mum D(ominum) Cardinalem Chisium usufructuarium d(ict)i Palatii annum agere trigesimum primum, ac, Deo optimo maximo concedente, iuxta eorum, et commune omnium desiderium longevum fore sperantes, se promptos exhibuerint Palatium quoad proprietatem, et Domum praefatae Emin(enti)a<sup>e</sup> suae pro pretio a d. Emin(entissi)mo Domino Cardinale Pallavicino declarando vendere, et alienare, et respective eidem uenditioni ut infra consentire, Idemque Emin(entissi)mus Dominus Cardinalis Pallavicinus maturae considerationis [*sic*] omnibus his, quae in praemissis considerata sunt, atque sumpta necessaria informatione tam valoris dicti Palatii, et Domus, quam usus fructus d. Emin(entissi)mo D(omino) Cardinali Chisio ut supra legati, aliorumque uerum d. Palatio, et Domui incumbendum, ac ulterius fructus quos d. Exc(ellentissi)mus D(ominus) Dux annuatim percipere poterit ex infra dicendo pretio de presenti sibi solvendo, aliisque omnibus desuper necessariis proponerit verum et iustum pretium di. Palatii quoad proprietatem, ac d<sup>e</sup> Domus esse scutorum viginti quinque millium m(one)tae Romanae huiusmodique propositione uti iusta, et eaque [*sic*] tam a d(omin)o Em(inentissi)mo Domino Cardinali Chisio, quam a dd<sup>is</sup> Ex(cellentissi)mis DD. Principe, et Duce acceptata, et approbata, modo intendant supra d<sup>ta</sup> venditione ad Instrumenti celebrationem devenire etc.

F. 199. *Quotation from the Papal warrant, dated 21 Dec. 1661, authorising the sale.*

La proprietà del Palazzo hereditario del detto Principe de Gallicano posto nella Piazza di S(an)ti Apostoli, et una Casa contigua al d(ett)o Palazzo che corrisponde al Corso appresso i beni del R(everendissi)mo Card(inal) Mancini et altri suoi noti confini.

F. 200. *Consent by the Camera Apostolica (23 Dec. 1661).*

Ipsam Palatium, quod pro confinibus habet ab uno latere uersus Monasterium seu Conventum R(everendorum) Patrum S<sup>i</sup> Marcelli, viam publicam, et bona D(ominorum) de Mandosiis, ab alio aliam viam, sive vicum, retro praefatam Domum ut infra vendendam, et Domos Emin<sup>mi</sup> et R<sup>mi</sup> D. Cardinalis et aliorum de Mancinis, necnon Domum praefatam retro dictum Palatium in Via Cursus ingressum habentem

iuxta bona versus plateam S<sup>ci</sup> Marci Collegiatae Ecclesiae S<sup>ae</sup> Mariae in Via Lata et versus Plateam S Marcelli bona Ill(ustrissi)mi R(everendissi)mi D(omini) Abbatis Dominici (f. 200<sup>v</sup>) Saluetti, S(anctissi)mi D. N. Papae Notarum Arcanarum Secretarij. Quae domus est (ut asseritur) gravata annuo censu Scutorum decem m(one)t(a)e ad fauorem R(everendissimorum) Patrum S<sup>ae</sup> Mariae Araceli pro celebratione Missarum vigore testamenti Conditi p(er) q(uonda)m Franciscam Gazzam de Quintiis et Instrumenti eiusdem census ex pecuniis hereditariis eiusdem acquito [*sic*], et p(er) q(uonda)m Martium, et Sebastianum de Jordanis olim Dominos d(ict)e Domus super ea impositi et Instrumento rogato sub die 17 Septembris 1579 scrip(to) (?) p(er) acta q(uonda)m Jo(annis) Dominici Peracca Curiae Capitolii Notarii, ac etiam gravata annuo Canone scutorum duodecim m(one)t(a)e ad favorem d(ictorum) R(everendissimorum) Patrum S<sup>ci</sup> Marcelli, quorum Consensus quatenus opus sit et non alias de quo supra reservatus sit et esse censeatur, quatenus tamen d(ictus) canon super d<sup>a</sup> Domo existat d.q. (?) Emin(entissimus) D(ominus) Cardinalis Emptor ad id legitime teneatur, et non alias s(icut) de quo supra salvis aliis tam d(ict)i Palatii, quam Domus pluribus, et verioribus confinibus si qui sint quandocumque exprimentur, et specificant [*sic*] et presenti Instrumento per me Notarium quandocumque addendis una cum omnibus et singulis statuis, et Picturis immobilibus, affixis, seu infixis tam in Nicchiis, et Scalis, quam in alio quovis loco eorundem Palatii, et Domus si que sunt etiam amovibilibus, nec non cum omnibus et singulis impannatis, et vitriatis, ac tota, et integra quantitate aquarum, in eisdem Palatio, et Domo, ac illorum Cortilibus, et alibi ad praesens fluentibus, fontibus, vasibus aquarum, et d(ictarum) aquarum juribus, cursibus, et derivationibus, prout ab eo d(icta)e aqu(a)e prouidentur, et sibi competunt, vel competere possunt, nec non omnibus, et singulis et quibuscumque bonis infixis, quae d(ictus) Exc<sup>mus</sup> d(ictus) Dux nominibus quibus supra intus d(ictum) Palatium, et Domum pariter habet et ad eum quomodocumque spectant et pertinent infer confinia praefata etc.

NO. IV.—WILL OF POMPEO COLONNA.<sup>1</sup>

Testamentum Bon(ae) Me(moriae) Ex(cellentissi)mi

P(ri)n(cipis) D. Pompei Columnae

Die 6 Jan(ua)rui 1661

D. Thomas Palutius A(postolicae) C(amerac) N(otarius)

Aperitio Testamenti Cl(arae) Me(moriae) P(ri)ncipis D. Pompei Columnae

Die Sexta Januarii 1661, hora sexta noctis

Actum Rome in Palatio hereditario d(ict)i Exc(ellentissi)mi D(omini) P(ri)n(cipis)

Gallicani posito in Platea Basilicae S(anct)or(um) Duodecim Apostolorum.

Pompeo Colonna figlio del Duca Pier Francesco Colonna.

Il mio corpo fatto cadavere voglio sia sepolto nella Chiesa di Santi Apostoli con gli altri miei Antecessori . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Capitolino*, vol. 60 (xlv.) Testamenta, etc. 1643-1671. Floridus et Palutius A(postolicae) C(amerac) Notarii.

Alla Santità di N(ostro) Sig(n)re lascio un Crocifisso, che tiene un mondo per Orologgio, e questo non come Papa, ma come a Fabio Chigi, perchè resti nella casa Chigi. Item all' Em(inentissim)o Sig(nor) Card(ina)le Chigi l'usufrutto di tutto il Palazzo in uita sua con peso di tenergli sempre un appartamento per Monsig(n)re Giacomo Nini in qualunque stato si ritrouarà, al quale anche lascio una trabacchia di tela d'oro bianche, che è il finimento che era della camera scura.

Item al Sig(nor) Card(inale) Pallaucino lascio li libri tanto stampati, come manuscritti sua vita durante douendosi poi restituirli all' Herede.

In tutti l'altri beni . . . casali, feudi ecc. istituisco faccio, voglio che sia, . . . nomino e scrivo mio Herede Universale Il sig. Don Stefano Colonna Duca di Bassano. In Roma li 3 Gennaro 1661.

*Codicilli Copia.*

Die quinta Januarii 1661.

Codicillando Jure legati, et alias o(mn)i mel(io)ri modo reliquit D(omino) Francisco Portio de Gagliano in Aprutio, uita tantum eiusdem D(omini) Fran(cis)ci durante et non ultra Domum nuncupatam il Casino contiguam et retro Palatium d(ict)i Ex(cellentissim)i D(omini) Principis respondente in Via Cursus Juxta suos fines ubi ad presens Idem D. Fran(cis)cus Inhabitat, ipsoq(ue) D(omino) Fran(cis)co defuncto eadem Domus ad heredem revertatur.

#### NO. V.—SALE OF THE PALACE TO BALDASSARE ODESCALCHI.

(Archivio Chigi, Libro degli Istromenti 1744-6, No. 13; Francesco Martorelli Notario), F. 68<sup>v</sup>, repeated, F. 85.

Si asserisce p(er) verita che la ch(iara) me(moria) dell Em(inentissim)o et R(everendissim)o Sig(nor)e Card(inale) Flavio Chigi col suo testamento aperto negli atti del Franceschini, oggi di me Martorelli li 13 7<sup>bre</sup> 1693 . . . ouero sottoponesse l'intiera sua Eredità, e Beni Ereditarij, quelli unitamente ch'esistono in Roma, et in t(u)tto lo Stato Ecclesiastico, eccettuando li beni esistenti nel dominio d(e)l Ser(enissim)o Granduca di Toscana, alla Primogenitura del Ecc(ellentissim)a Casa Chigi . . . p(er) Donaz(ion)e irrevocabile inter vivos rogato negl' atti di me mede(sim)o Martorelli allora il Palazzi Not(arius) A(postolicae) C(amerac)e li 19 Giugno 1662, et successivam(en)te approvata, e confermata dalla S(anta) M(emoria) di Aless(andr)o PP. vii. con suo Breve speciale Spedito li 20 Sett(emb)re d(e)llo stesso anno 1662. F. 69 . . . e tra gli effetti lasciati dal d(ett)o Em(inentissim)o Sig(n)re Card(ina)le il Palazzo grande situato à Piazza et incontro la V(enerabile) Chiesa de SS. Apostoli, che costa di trè appartamenti Terreno, e due Nobili, Cantine, Cucine, sottotetti abitabili, giardino al paro d(e)l p(ri)mo appartamento nobile, rimesse nel Cortile con comodo p(er) la biada sopra le med(esim)e, diversi Comodi d'acqua nel Cortile, Giardino e cucine come meglio in appresso si specificarà et altri comodi sotterranei e scalla nel Cantone passato il Giardino p(er) andare al Vicolo di S. Marcello, e dalla parte di sopra un Rimessone grande sotto l'appartamento nobile passato l'arco, e dietro dalla parte d(e)l Vicolo, che tende a S. Romualdo, altra Rimessa con due Porte con mezzanini sopra, confinante dalla parte dell 'Arco col Palazzo del Sig(n)re

Duca Altemps, e Chiesa della Madonna di Loreto, oue presentemente abito l'Em(in-entissim)o Sig(no)re Card(ina)l(e) Delei, dalla parte del Vicolo del Piombo col Palazzo detto di Niuers oggi spettante all' Accademia di Francia, dalla parte del Cortile con detta Accademia, il Giardino di d(ett)o Palazzo, auanti la Piazza pub(blic)a di SS. Apostoli, che fa confine, e uolta al uicolo di S. Marcello, dove ha p(er) confine l'altro Palazzo detto della famiglia, che si dice in appresso, qual palazzo grande è stato dall'anno 1694 fino al p(rese)nte ritenuto in locazione dall' Ill(ustrissi)mo et Exc(ellentissi)mo Sig(no)re Duca di Bracciano p(er) annua pigione di sc(udi) 1600 compreso l'altro infr(ascritt)o Palazzo detto d(e)lla Famiglia, et Casetta.

Altro Palazzo detto della Famiglia contiguo al sopradescritto, che confina dalla parte del Vicolo (F. 69) di S. Marcello colla Stalla del d(etto) Palazzo grande, e corrisponde al corso incontro la v(enerabile) Chiesa di S. M(ari)a in via Lata e confina dall' altra parte nel Corso colla Co(mpagni)a della V(enerabile) Archiconfraternità di S. Caterina di Siena, e di dietro col Giardino del d(ett)o Palazzo, e questo secondo Palazzo della Famiglia contiene due Appartamenti, e Botteghe sotto con Mezzanini compreso parimente in d(ett)a locazione. Altra Casetta al Corso incontro il Palazzo Panfilì, che contiene due Appartamenti, Bottega sotto Cortile con Fontana, Cucinetta sopra d(ett)a Fontana, e Cantina confinante da una Parte colli Beni del Capitolo di S. Maria in Via Lata, dall' altra parte col d(ett)o Palazzo dell' Accademia di Francia salvi altri compresa simil(men)te nella sud(dett)a locazione. Et essendo ancora, che la Ch(iara) Me(moria) del Sig(nor) Duca D(on) Livio Odescalco nel suo Testamento aperto al dì 8 Sett<sup>re</sup>. 1713, p(er) gli atti allora del Caioli oggi del De Sanctis Not(ari)o Cap(itoli)no ordinasse all' Ill(ustrissi)mo et Ecc(ellentissi)mo Sig(nor) Duca D(on) Baldassarre Odescalco suo Erede istituito di douer mantenere in Roma la Casa aperta, continuando a ritenere il sud(detto) Palazzo spettante all' Eccmā Casa Chigi, doue lo stesso Ecc(ellentissi)mo Sig(nor) Duca D. Livio abitava, come si è detto sin dall' anno 1694, e uolendolo comprare lo permettesse di prendere dei Capitali dalla sua Eredità, a riserua de Feudi e Ville, o Corpi di decoro e Delizie come più diffusamente leggesi nel d(ett)o Testam(en)to come so(pra) aperto al quale—. Avendo dunque il pre(dett)o Ecc(ellentissi)mo Sig(nor) Duca D(on) Baldassarre Odescalco con la longa abitazione del sud(detto) Palaz(zo) formato il pensiero di venire all' effettua Compra di quello co' suoi sudd(etti) annessi nella forma, che lo ha goduto, e gode presentam(en)te a tenore della locaz(ion)e, abbia pertanto fattone fare la richiesta all' Ill(ustrissi)mo et Ecc(ellentissi)mo Sig(no)re P(ri)n(c)ipe D(on) Agostino Chigi odierno Possessore della d(ett)a Primogenitura della sua Eccma Casa, con il quale è stata effettivam(en)te stabilita la compra e vendita del d(ett)o Palazzo, p(er) il presso, e condizione infra ciòe, che la uendita del d(ett)o Palazzo, e sudd(etto) annessi debba seguire p(er) il prezzo conuenuto di scudi nouantamila.

F. 70. (The price was to be paid in two instalments of 45,000 scudi each, and for five years the Duke was to pay to Prince Chigi the usual rent of 1,600 scudi, the repairs being undertaken by the latter.)

F. 106. Copia<sup>1</sup> della verifica fatta da Gio(vanni) P(iet)ro Minelli Arch(itetto)

<sup>1</sup> There is another copy of this document in the Archivio Odescalchi (xxxv. A. 1).

del Chigi, Egidio Malescotti Arch(itetto) dell' Odescalchi delle otto oncie di acqua felice—fa mostra a num° sei fontane cioè due sopra la loggia, et una nella Ringhiera del appartamento, e no. tre nel giardino—e dell' oncia di Acqua Verginie ed a tal' effetto si è alzato il Bottino incontro l'Accademia di Francia nella strada del Corso e preciso nel cantone del vicolo del Piombo, e fù trovata la fistola di metallo della capacità di una oncia, messa al condotto cam(era)le d(ett)o del Bufalo, che tende verso S. Marco, dett' acqua è condottata con condotti di Piombo e posta nel terrapieno, e uà à sgorgare nella casetta di Piombo murata nel muro della (F. 107a) nominata cucina, et iui si diuide e fà mostra a due Fontane.







PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.

VOL. IX. No. 3.

THE PALAZZO ODESCALCHI.

*(See Vol. VIII., pp. 57 seqq.).*

By THOMAS ASHBY, D.Litt., F.S.A.

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THE PALAZZO ODESCALCHI.

(See Vol. VIII., pp. 57 seqq.).

By THOMAS ASHBY, D.LITT., F.S.A.

THE history of the palace of the Colonna family which stood on the site which was afterwards occupied by the Palazzo Odescalchi is by no means completely known: but the researches which Sig. Francesco Tomassetti has been good enough to make in the Boncompagni Ludovisi archives, with the kind permission of the Prince of Piombino, have thrown a considerable amount of light on it: and I therefore give the results of his investigations; which have brought to light some very interesting facts.<sup>1</sup>

We saw that Bufalini's plan of Rome (1551) showed a palace of the Colonna family existing on a part of the site. This palace belonged to Pierfrancesco Colonna, lord of Zagarolo and Colonna, and passed with these estates to his heiress Vittoria, who married Camillo Colonna. The latter died in 1558, and his widow gave it on July 10, 1562, with the rest of her property (Zagarolo and Colonna) to her sons Cardinal Marcantonio and Prospero Colonna and her grandson Marzio, son of Pompeo Colonna, in equal portions, on condition that in case of the death of one, the others should succeed in the order given.<sup>2</sup>

The Cardinal, to whose share the palace fell, at once began to improve

<sup>1</sup> The documents relating to the palace are all bound in one volume (Armadio IX. prot. 313). They will be cited as 'Doc.' followed by their respective numbers.

<sup>2</sup> A summary of the history of the palace from 1562 to 1622 is given in Doc. 14 (the Brief of Pope Gregory XV. confirming the sale of the palace to Cardinal Ludovisi). For the deed of gift *inter vivos* of July 10, 1562, see Coppi, *Memorie Colonnese*, 333; Tomassetti, *Campagna Romana Antica, Medioevale, e Moderna*, iii. 418, 430.

the property by purchasing other houses, with the object, no doubt, of acquiring the whole block. Earlier in 1562 he had bought a house from the nunnery of S. Giacomo alle Muratte, which is described as facing on to the Piazza SS. Apostoli, with the palace (which is already spoken of as belonging to the Cardinal, so that the formal deed must have been drawn up somewhat later than the actual gift) on one side of it, and some property of the monastery of SS. Apostoli on the other, and the property of one Giacomo da Perugia at the back (Doc. 3). It was in the direct occupation of the Servite fathers of S. Marcello, to whom an annual rent of 16 giulii was due, and who gave their consent to the sale on June 9 (Doc. 4). In 1581 he bought from one Giovanni Felice, for the price of 61 scudi, a ground-floor room facing on to the Piazza, adjoining the garden of the fathers of S. Marcello and his own property (Doc. 6), and also the rest of the house, which belonged to Regolo Celsi (Doc. 14). In the next year Pompeo Colonna, Duke of Zagarolo, the father of Marzio, bought this garden for 2046 : 96 scudi, with a tower and two stables. According to Doc. 14, the purchase was made jointly with the Cardinal. It is described as facing the monastery, and being situated at the north-east angle of the block, with the Piazza on one side, the street leading to it from the Corso (Via dei SS. Apostoli) on another, and on the third and fourth sides the palace and garden of Cardinal Marcantonio Colonna (Doc. 7 : June 25, 1582). It is no doubt the garden with two trees in it shown in Du Pérac's bird's-eye view. In 1589 the Cardinal bought from Giovanni,<sup>1</sup> son of the late Domenico de Rotella, a house with a storeroom and a garden, on the side towards S. Marcello, facing on to the Piazza, and enclosed on the other sides by his own property, at the price of 1205 : 18 scudi (Doc. 9).<sup>2</sup> The Cardinal had also acquired two houses from Panta Ricci and Cornelia Rastella, in order to incorporate them with his own palace : and on June 27, 1594, he executed a document acknowledging his obligation to pay a ground rent of 17 scudi a year to the Company of SS. Ambrogio e Carlo al Corso<sup>3</sup> in respect of them (Doc. 10 : Doc. 11 is a receipt for one year's rent of the same date).

The Cardinal had received from his brother Pompeo a deed of gift of

<sup>1</sup> He is referred to as Giovanni Domenico Paolucci in Doc. 14.

<sup>2</sup> April 20, 1589. The house is described as 'domus terrinea, solarata et tectata cum apotheca et discoperto seu horticello.' The garden was in the direct occupation of the fathers of S. Marcello.

<sup>3</sup> *Papers*, viii. p. 57.

all his property (Doc. 14) on June 7, 1565, and on December 20 of the same year he executed a similar deed in favour of his brother and his nephew. On the death of Pompeo, the Cardinal repeated the gift on October 10, 1583, in favour of his nephew and his male heirs by primogeniture, and further confirmed it on October 11, 1591, on which date Marzio's other uncle, Prospero, executed a similar deed of gift in his nephew's favour. It was thus that, on the death of his uncles, Marzio succeeded to the whole of their property, including the palace: he let it free of rent to Cardinal Francesco d'Avila, for his life, but on a repairing lease, in execution of the terms of which he built the apartment known as 'l'appartamento nuovo' facing the Piazza (Doc. 14). On September 25, 1604 the grandsons of the late Sebastiano di Giordano of Zagarolo sublet to Marzio a house in the Corso facing the palace of the Aldobrandini, for the annual rent of 12 scudi,<sup>1</sup> and on December 9, 1610, the fathers of S. Marcello gave their formal consent (*ib.*).

Cardinal d'Avila died in the palace on January 20, 1606. As we have already seen, the extravagance of Marzio led his heir, Pierfrancesco, into such serious financial embarrassment that he was obliged to sell most of his property to Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi to pay his father's debts. A copy of the deed of sale of the palace bearing date May 22, 1622, is preserved in the Boncompagni-Ludovisi archives (Doc. 13), and so is the original brief of Pope Gregory XV., confirming the sale, and dated June 15 of the same year (Doc. 14). The price paid was 39,000 scudi.

The Cardinal obtained the consent of Philip IV. of Spain to the

<sup>1</sup> The house had been granted in emphyteusis (or hereditary lease) to Sebastiano and his heirs to the third generation at this rent by the fathers of S. Marcello on October 31, 1547: it is there referred to as situated between the property of Giovanni Maria Tassi and the property of the church of S. Maria in Via Lata, with the property of Cosma Lothoriga (probably Lotaringa, *i.e.*, the Lorrainer) behind (Doc. 1). It is, further, referred to in the document published in *Papers*, viii. p. 87. I know no more of the palace of the Aldobrandini in the Corso (see Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, iv. 179). We have no evidence to enable us to identify more accurately the house which the fathers of SS. Apostoli let in emphyteusis to the third generation to Paolo de Marchi, a Sicilian barber, on September 19, 1547, for a rent of 10 scudi per annum, and which was situated in the Piazza, facing the church: but as a copy of the lease is preserved among the other documents (Doc. 2) it is clear that it must have been among the houses which occupied the site of the palace. We may thus explain the existence of an annual charge of 10 scudi on the palace in favour of the fathers of SS. Apostoli, which was compounded for by Cardinal Ludovisi by the gift of three shares in the loan known as the 'Monte del Sussidio biennale' (Moroni, *Dizionario*, xl. 149). A copy of the release given by them to the Cardinal, dated October, 10, 1622 (Doc. 16), and the original brief confirming this release dated April 24, 1623 (Doc. 21), are preserved in the volume already referred to.



purchase on August 22, with permission to mortgage the fiefs that he held within the Kingdom of Naples as security for the charges on the palace (Doc. 15). He then proceeded to improve the value of the property by compounding for the various annual charges upon it. Thus, he obtained a release from the Company of SS. Ambrogio e Carlo al Corso, from the ground rent of 17 scudi a year due to them (Doc. 20 is a Papal brief, dated April 5, 1623, confirming the release); he purchased the house which Marzio Colonna had leased from the grandsons of Sebastiano di Giordano, from the fathers of S. Marcello (Doc. 17 is the architect's valuation, Doc. 18 a copy of the consent given by the fathers to the purchase of the palace, as proprietors of a part of it, and their discharge of the Cardinal from the obligation of paying ground rents annually, on consideration received of 18 'luoghi' in the loan known as the Monte S. Bonaventura, a loan issued by Sixtus V. Cf. Moroni, *Dizionario*, xl. 151. Doc. 22 is the original brief confirming the release, dated April 24, 1623): and on February 10, 1623, he, as Cardinal Chamberlain, issued a permission to himself, in his private capacity, to occupy a portion of the public street, 191 palms in length and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in width (about 140 feet long by 2 wide), in order to incorporate it in his palace (Doc. 19).

He cannot, however, have remained in possession of the palace for more than a few years. For, at some date before February 26, 1628, Pierfrancesco Colonna had exercised the right of repurchase, and had let the palace with the garden, stables, coach-houses, fountains, and appurtenances to Cardinal Gabriel Tresci, Archbishop of Malaga: and on that date the latter made over his rights in virtue of the lease to the Abate Francesco Peretti, the last descendant of Sixtus V. in the male line,<sup>1</sup> to whom, on the same day, Pierfrancesco granted a lease during his lifetime and for two months after his death. In 1637, however, Pompeo Colonna, Prince of Gallicano, the son and heir of Pierfrancesco, in pursuance of an agreement between the Abate and Don Nicolò Ludovisi, Prince of Piombino and Venosa, made on January 24, cancelled the lease to the former and substituted the latter as tenant, on the same terms as those on which it had been granted to the former by Pierfrancesco and by Pompeo himself: it was to hold good for the whole life of the tenant and for two months after his death. Pompeo further promised to give the new tenant

<sup>1</sup> Ciaconius (iv. 436) calls Tresci Tressius or Trejo Paniaqua. Francesco Peretti became Cardinal in December, 1641, and died in 1655 (*ib.* 610).

the preference over any other purchaser in case of the sale of the palace, and to charge him the same price as that for which his brother, Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, who had died in 1632, had sold it back to Pompeo's father Pierfrancesco, and to indemnify him for all his expenditure past and future on improvements. (Doc. 24 *a*, minute of the lease.)

Don Nicolò apparently paid the Abate a good price for what remained of his lease: we find an undertaking by his legal representative, Ruggero Bracciolini, dated February 11, 1637, to execute the deed of sale of the palace, the terms of which had been already agreed upon, as soon as Don Nicolò demanded it, and a copy of the deed of surrender of the palace (undated) for a consideration of 15,000 scudi, including the allowance for the improvements made by the Abate for his whole lifetime and two months after his death, by which deed the mother of Nicolò, Lavinia Albergati Ludovisi, Duchess of Fiano, was given possession of the palace (Doc. 24 *b, c*). There is also a letter of Bracciolini written in May (?) enclosing a minute of the deed of sale (the sale having occurred 'some months before'), and stating that he awaited the order to have it drawn out in due form (Doc. 24 *d*).

We have already seen that Peretti, who became a Cardinal in 1641, died in 1655: and, at the beginning of 1661 Pompeo Colonna made a will by which he left the use of the palace for life to Cardinal Flavio Chigi (*Papers*, viii. 63).

One or two other points may be noticed, as to which it has been possible to obtain additional information. Thus, a few objects from the collection of antiquities formed by Queen Christina of Sweden, and bought by Don Livio Odescalchi in 1691 (*Papers*, viii. 69), found their way into Townley's hands and are now in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup>

It is also worth mentioning that the collection of drawings was given to Crozat; 'il faut ajouter les desseins de Dom Livio Odescalchi, qui furent donnés à M. Crozat, lorsque S.A.R. Monseigneur le Duc d'Orleans, Regent, acheta les Tableaux de ce prince' (*Description des Desseins du Cabinet de feu M. Crozat*, p. x).

<sup>1</sup> Two Egyptian altars, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, iii. 2494, 2495; *Museum Odescalchum*, ii. (ed. 1), Pls. 98, 90, 85, 97: 89, 91, 100, 83; ii. (ed. 2), Pls. 42, 43, 47, 50: 44, 53, 48, 51: there was a third altar representing Winter, the present locality of which I do not know, represented in *op. cit.* ii. (ed. 1), Pls. 76, 84, 86, 89 (or 99); ii. (ed. 2), Pls. 46, 52, 49, 44 (or 45); and a green basalt bath and a dark granite basin (*ib.* Nos. 2542, 2543) bought by Townley in 1776.

Finally, I must correct an error into which I had fallen in regard to the identification of the former residence of the Odescalchi family (*Papers*,



FIG. 1.—PART OF DU PÉRAC'S VIEW OF ROME (1577).

viii. 84). Their palace was on the site of the present Palazzo Falconieri, at the south-east end of Via Giulia, and is clearly shown in the bird's-eye view of Du Pérac (1577: see *Papers*, *cit.* 58), in which it may be seen to

the right of the Palazzo Farnese, with its back to the Tiber, and the legend *odescalchi* (Fig. 1). It has two doors and a courtyard: on the left is the little church of S. Maria della Morte, which was built in 1573, on a site purchased from Monsignor Amalio Ceci in the previous year. He also owned the site of the palace, but the date at which the Odescalchi bought it from him is not known.<sup>1</sup>

If Du Pérac's representation is correct, the engraving by Franzini shows only one half of the façade (Fig. 2).

According to Callari (*Palazzi di Roma*, 243) it passed from the Odescalchi to the Mellini, and from them by inheritance to the Falconieri.

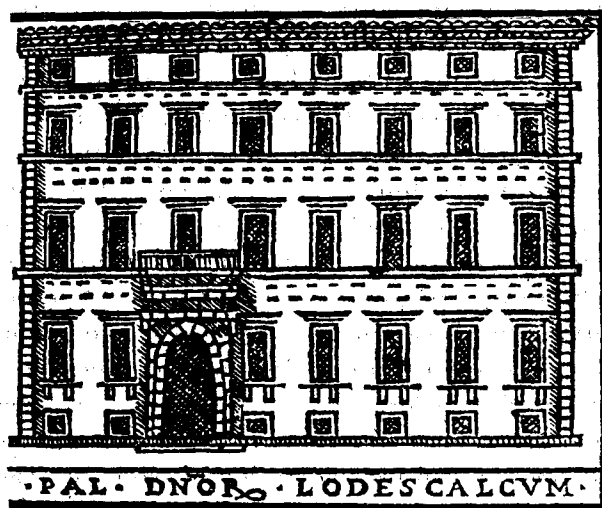


FIG. 2.—ENGRAVING BY FRANZINI.

The former, he says, had it restored by Borromini: but Martinelli (*Roma Ricercata*, 1664, p. 32) attributes the employment of Borromini to the latter, and he is more likely to be right. Matteo Gregorio de Rossi in his plan (1668—I have consulted the edition of 1680) calls it 'Palazzo Falconieri del 1650,' the date, no doubt, of its reconstruction. Cf. Ferrerio and Falda, *Palazzi di Roma*, ii. Pls. 30–33 (the plates are still preserved at the Regia Calcografia, No. 1413). The elevation there given shows that Borromini did not alter the disposition of the windows of the façade,

<sup>1</sup> Bevignani in *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, xxxiii. (1910), p. 10.

which is identical with that given by Franzini. It would be interesting to know who was the architect of the original building.

We may note that the Odescalchi continued to take an interest in the Confraternità della Morte—so much so, that Baldassare subscribed 1100 scudi towards the rebuilding of the church in or about 1732 (*Archivio*, cit. p. 19).

I may also add that Lanciani (*Storia degli Scavi*, i. 213) speaks of a Villa Odescalchi on the Janiculum which, in 1561, lay on one side of the Villa of the Turini da Pescia (now Villa Lante), while the Villa Riario lay on the other; but there is no indication of it in his *Forma Urbis*, and its position and extent seem not to be more accurately known.

In the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries they possessed a villa or garden on the Via Flaminia, just outside the Porta del Popolo, on the right. It is mentioned by François Deseine, *Description de Rome* (1690), ii. 8, as being in process of decoration by Don Livio Odescalchi: the edition of 1713 (*Rome Moderne*, i. 8) adds that there was 'a small enchanted palace' on the top of the hill, and a fine garden on the lower level, where the new Academy of the Arcadia held its meetings. Over the gateway, which is attributed to Onorio Longhi (Vasi, *Magnificenze di Roma*, vol. x. p. xvii), was the inscription 'Livio Odescalcho Litterarum bonarumque Artium Patrono munificentissimo Arcades C. V. C. Conditori atque Instauratori suo posuere Anno MDCCXII.' (Cancellieri, *Solenni Possessi*, 305, n. 8). The 'new Academy of the Arcadia' was a schismatic body, which, on January 1st, 1714, took the name of Accademia Quirina. Later on, the name of Don Livio, who had died in 1713, was inscribed *de novo* in the list of members of the old Academy, which attempted to remove the inscription.<sup>1</sup>

The villa was bought by Camillo Borghese when he enlarged the Villa Borghese in 1828 (Canina, *Nuove Fabbriche della Villa Borghese*, 9), and incorporated in it.

<sup>1</sup> G. Biroccini in *Arcadia*, i. (1889), 50. The Academy had met in 1705-7 in the Villa Giustiniani, which lay immediately behind it (Nolli, *Pianta di Roma*, 1748): cf. A. Monaci (to whose kindness I owe these references) in *Giornale Arcadico*, 1914, fasc. 9-11. Cf. also Boni in *Boll. d'Arte*, viii. (1914), 369.

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#### POSTSCRIPT.

Fig. 1 is actually taken from a copy of the 1640 edition in my own collection, but there are no variations of any importance.

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